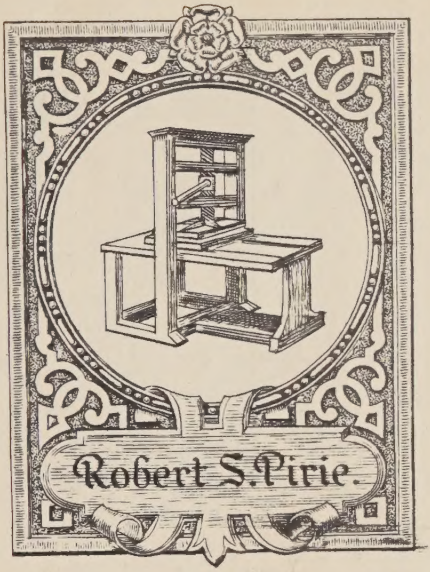
MARIE
QUENE
OF
SCOTTES

SUBLIMIS PER ARDUA TENDO
Charles Chauncy M.D. 1780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# ANE DETECTIOVN of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir huſband, and hir conſpiracie, adulterie, and pretenſed mariage with the Erle Bothwell. And ane defence of the trew Lordis, mainteineris of the Kingis graces actioun and authoritie.

Tranſlatit out of the Latine quhilke was written by *G. B.*

Quhairas of thynges iudi-
cially determinit within
any dominioun, to haif
accompte demandit by
strangeris, is to sic as be
not subiect to forane iurisdictionn,
baith strange, and also for the strange-
nesse displeasant, to vs aboue all vther
it ought to be most greuous, quha
are driuen to this streight of necessi-
tie, that quhase fautes we desire to co-
uer, thair lues we are enforced to ac-
cuse, vnlesse we will our selues be ac-
compted the most wicked persons that
lyue. But a great part of this greef,
is releued by your equitie (most ex-
cellent Quene) quha take it no lesse
displeasantly to see your kinswoman,
than we to see our Quene thus in
speche of all men to be dishonorably
reported, quha alswa are for your
part no lesse desirous to vnderstand
the truth, than we for ours to auoide
sclaunder. Thairfoir we will knit
vp the mater as breefly as possibly may
be, and declare it with sic shortnesse,
as we may rather seme to haue light-
ly runne ouer the cheef pointes than
to haue largly expressed thaim, begyn-

nyng at the Quenes first inconstancie. For as in making of her mariage, her lightnes was very hedlang & rash, so sodanely followed either inwart repentance, or at least outwart tokens of change of her affection without any causes appearing. For quhair before time the king was not onely neglected but also not honorably vsed, at length began open hatred to breake out against him, specially in that winter quhen he went to Peble with small traine euen to meane for the degrée of a priuate man, not being sent thether a hawking, but as commandit away into a corner far frõ counsell and knawledge of publike affaires. Nouther is it necessarie to put in writing those thinges, quhilk as thay were than as a spectacle noted of all mens eyes, sa now as a fresh image thay remane imprintit in all mens hartes. And though this were the beginning of all the euills that followed, yet at the first the practises were secrit, sa as not onely the commoun pepill, but alswa sic as were right familiar and present at the doing of many matters, could not vnderstand throughly, what

thing

thing the Quene than cheefly intended.

At the last about the moneth of Apryll in the yeare 1566. quhan the Quene was returned from Dunbarre to Edinburgh, and was lodged in the castell, she keipt her thare till the time of her trauaile of childe. After her deliuerance immediatly the secret counsels of the intendit mischeif began to breake out, quhairof the effect was this, to dispatch away the king by one way or vther howsoeuer, and to mary with Bothwell. And that her selfe should not be touchit with suspicion of the murder, she began secritly by littil and littill to sow sedes of dissentioun betwene the king and the Lordes that were than in Court, and by mair and mair inflaming tham, to bring the mater to deadly feude. And if at any time she espied the suspicions of the one against the vther to languish, byandby with new reportes to baith partes, she whetted tham on againe to fresch displeasuris, persuading the Nobilitie against the king, and the king against the Nobilitie, that either intendit vthers destruction. And she thought nothing so long as to sée the mater come

to strokes, for douting whether of thá she had rather to hait the victorie, she accounted the losse on either side for her auantage, as hoping thairby to auance forward one degrée neirer to that quhilk she intendit. Finally in short time she so filled all thair hartes with mutuall ialousies one againſt an vther, that thare was not a man of any reputatioun in the Court, but he was driuen to this necessitie, either with dishonour to yeld to rumors fained againſt him, or to enter into combate with the reporters, or to withdraw him home. And though we shall passe ouer the rest for desire to hast to the cheif point of the matter, yet this one notable slanderous practise at that time, is nat to be omitted. For on a time quhen the king had ben in talke with the Quene till it was farre in the night, the summe in a maner of all her communicatioun was, that almost all the nobilitie had conspirit his death, & wer deuising how to dispatch him. After the kinges departure from her, she sent forthwith for the Erle of Murray hir brother, wha after was Regẽt, with this message, that the matter was

hainous,

hainous, and neceſſarily requiring his preſence without delay. He being awaked out of ſound ſleepe, in great feare, caſt a night gowne ouer his ſhirt, and as he was halfe naked ranne to her in haſt. To him than ſhe vſed euin the like talke as ſhe had before to the king, informing him that the king hoped in ſuch deadly hatrit againſt him, and tooke it ſo diſpleaſantly that he ſtood ſo hyely in her grace, that he was fully determinit, ſo ſone as any poſſible opportunitie ſerued, to murder him. So, as inekle as in her lay, ſhe left no meane vnaſſayit to ſet them togeſther by the eares, and without all dout had done it in deid, if it had not ben Gods gude pleaſure to deliuer the innocent perſons frō ſo perilous treaſons, & to diſcloſe her wicked treſchery.

Quhen this attempt failed her, ſhe aſſayit the yong & vnexperienced gentleman with ane new ſutill practiſe. She earneſtly labored him, that quhile ſhe was great with childe, he ſhould chooſe him ſome yong gentlewoman, quhairof there was great ſtoir, quhoſe companie he might vſe in the meane time. She promiſed him her aſſent and furtherance,

The Queine offreyis to be bawde to hir owne husband.

therance, with pardon and leaue to cō-
mit the offence. She named to him the
Erle of Murrayes wife, not for that
she esteemed that most noble Lady most
apt for sic a villanie, but because she
thought by that way to be reuenged of
thrée enemies at once, the king, the
Erle, and his wife, and therwithall to
winne a colour and cause of diuorce to
make empty bedrowme for Bothwell.
After that she was deliuered of childe,
though she courteously enterteined all
vther, yet as oft as word was brought
her that the king was come to sée her,
baith she and her company so framed
thair speche & countenance, as if thay
semed to feare nothing mair than that
the king should perceaue that thay lo-
thed him, and that his comming and
presence was displeasant to tham all.
On the vther side Bothwell alone was
all in all, he alone was gouerner of all
her counsels and all her affaires. And
so desireus was the Quene to haue
her hartie affection towart him vnder-
stood of all men, that if any sute were
to be made to her, thare was no way
of speding for any man but by Both-
well to obteine it.

Nat

Nat lang after her deliuerance, on a day very early, accompanied with very few that wer priuie of her counsall, sche went downe to the water side at the place called the New hauen, and while all maruelled whether she went in sic hast, sche sodenly entred into a ship there prepared for her, quhilk ship was prouided by William Blacater, Edmond Blacater, Leonard Robertson, and Thomas Dickson, Bothu elles seruantes & famous robbers & pyrates. With this trayne of thiefes, all honest men wonderyng at it, sche betoke her selfe to sea, takyng nat ane vther with her, na nat of her gentlemen nor necessarie attendantes for common honestie. In Aloe caskell, where the shyp arryued, how sche behaued her selfe, I had rather euery man should with hym selfe imagine it, than heare me declare it. This ane thyng I dare affirme, that in all hir wordes and doynges sche neuer kept any regard, I will nat say of Quenelike maiestie, but nat of matronelike modestie. The kyng, quhen he heard of this sodeine departure of the Quene, followed after with all

the haſt that he poſſibly cauld by land, and there ouertuke hir, in purpoſe and hoppyng there to be her company and to enioy the mutuall louyng fellowſhyp of mariage. But how louingly he was receiued of her, baith all they that wer preſent, and ſic as haue heard tham repoꝛt it, can well remember. Foꝛ being ſcarcely ſuffered to tarry there a few houres, while hys men and hoꝛſes bayted, he was enfoꝛced to get hym away in haſt agayne an peine of further perill. As foꝛ hir ſelf, ſche paſſimed there certayne dayes, if nat in princely magnificence, yet in mair than princely oꝛ rather vnprincely licentiouſneſſe. There went ſche a huntyng, ones at the riuer of Magat, an vther tyme at the foꝛeſt of Glenartue. There how coylye, yea how loſtily and diſdaynfully ſhe behaued her ſelfe to the kyng, quhat nede it be rehearſed, foꝛ the thing was opẽly done in all mens ſight, & continueth empꝛint it in all mens memoꝛie.

Quhen ſche was returned to Edenburgh, ſche tuke nat her ladgyng in her owne palace, but in a pꝛiuate houſe nert adioyning to Jhon Balfoures.

foures. Thense sche remoued into an vther house quhair the yerely courte, quhilk they call the Exchequer was then kept: For this house was larger, and had pleasant gardens to it, & nert to the garden altogether a solitarie vacant rome. But there was an vther mater quhilk, mair thã al these things, specially allured her thether. There dwelt hardby one Dauid Chambers, Bothwels seruãt, whoes backdoore adioynit to the garden of the Quenis lodging. The rest, wha gesseth nat: for the Quene hir selfe confessed the mater baith to many vther & also namely to the Regent & hys mother. But sche layed all the blame vpon my ladie Reresse a womã of maist vile vnchastitie, wha had sometime been one of Bothwels harlots, and than was one of the chefe of the Quenis priuie chamber. By this woman, wha now in her age had from the gayne of horedome betaken hir selfe to the craft of bawderie, was the Quene, as her selfe sayd, betrayed. For Bothwel was through the garden brought into the Quenis chamber, & there forced hir agaynst hir will forsothe. But how much agaynst hir

will Dame Kereſe betrayed her, tyme the mother of truth hath diſcloſed. For within few dayes efter, the Quene intending as I ſuppoſe to reaquite force with force and to rauiſh hym agayne, ſent Dame Kereſe, (who had her ſelfe alſo before aſſayit the mans ſtrength) to bryng hym captiue vnto her byghnes. The Quene with Margaret Carwod, a woman priuie of all her ſecretes, dyd let her downe by a ſtryng ouer an auld wall into the next garden. But in ſic weirlike affaires, all thynges can not euer be ſo well foreſeen, but that ſome incommodious chaunce may ouerthwartly happen. Behald, the ſtryng ſodenly brake, and downe with a great noyſe fell Dame Kereſe, a woman very heauy baith by vnweldy age & maſſy ſubſtance. But ſche an auld beaten ſoldiar, nothyng diſmayed with the darkenes of the night, the heighth of the wall, nor with the ſodenneſſe of the fall, vp ſche getteth, & winneth into Bothwels chamber, ſche gyt the doze open, and out of his bed, euen out of his wiues armes, halfe a ſlepe, halfe naked, ſche forceably bringes the man to the Quene.

This

This maner and circumstances of the dede, nat onely the maist pairt of tham that then wer with the Quene haue confessed, but also George Dagliss Bothwelles chamberlane, a litle before he was executed playnly declared the same, quhilk hys confessioun yet remaynneth of recorde.

In the meane tyme, the kyng commanded out of sight, & with iniuries and miseries banisched from her, kept hym selfe close, with a few of hys seruantes at Stercline. For alas quhat should he els do? He could nat crepe into any pece of grace with the quene, nor could get so much as to mainteine his dayly necessarie expenses to finde his few seruantes and hys horses: and finally with brawlynges lightly rising for euery small trifle, and querels vsually piked he was chaced out of her presence. Yet his hart, obstinately fired in louing hir, cauld not be restrained, but he must neidis come backe to Edenburgh of purpose with all kinde of seruiceable humblenesse to get some entrie into hir former fauour, and to recouer the kinde societie of mariage. Quho ones againe with maist dishonourable

nourable disdaine excludit, anes again returneth frō quhense he came, thare as in solitarie desert to bewaile his woefull miseries.

Within few dayes after, quhen the King determined to goe to Jedworth to the assises thare to be halden, about the beginning of October, Bothwell maketh his iorney into Liddesdale. Thare behaving himself nouther according to the place quhairto he was called, nor according to his nobilitie of race and estimation, he was waundred by a pvre theefe that was him selfe ready to dye, and caryed into the castell called the Heremitage, with great vncertaintie of his recouerie. Quhan newes hereof was brought to Borthwik to the Quene, she flingeth away in hast like a mad woman, by great iourneyes in poste, in the sharpe time of winter, first to Melrose and than to Jedworth. Thare though she heard sure newes of his life, yet hir affectioun impatient of delay could not temper it self, but nedis she must bewray hir outragious lust, and in an vnconuenient time of the yere, despising all discōmodities of the way & wether, & all dangers

gers of theifis, she betoke hir self hed-long to hir iourney with sic a company as na man of any honest degrée wald haif aduentured his life and his guds amang tham. Thense she returneth a-gain to Jedworth, and with maist earnest care & diligence prouideth & pre-pareth all thinges to remoue Bothwel thether. Quhen he was ones brought thether, thair company and familiar haunt togither was sic as was smally agreing with baith thair honours. Thare, whether it were by reason of thair nightly and daily trauailes, dis-honourable to tham selfis and infamous amang the pepill, or by some secrit prouidence of God, the Quene fell in-to sic a sore and dangerous sickenesse, that scarcely thare remained any hoip of hir life.

Quhan the king heard thairof, he hasted in post to Jedworth, to visit the Quene, to comfort hir in hir weake-nesse, and by all the gentill seruices that he possibly cauld to declare hys af-fectioun and harty desire to do hir plea-sure. So far was it of that hys lodging and thynges necessary was prouidit for him agaynst his cõmyng (quhilk is

wont to be done euin for meane persons) that he found nat any ane token toward him of a freindly minde. But this was a point of maist barbarous inhumanitie vsed against him, that the Nobilitie and all the officers of the Court that were present were specially forbidden, not anes to do him reuerence at hys comming, nor to yeld him thair lodging, nor to harber him so mekle as for ane night. And quhairas the Quene suspected that the Erle of Murray, quhilk afterward was Regent, wald shew him curtesie, she practised with his wife to goe home in hast and faine hir selfe sicke, and kepe hir bed, that at least by thys colour, vnder pretense of hir sicknesse, the king might be shut out of dores. Being thus denied all duties of ciuile kindnesse, the nest day with great grief of hart he returned to his auld solitarie corner. In the meane time quhile the king in that want of all thinges, and forsaken of all freindes, scant with begging findeth rowme in a cotage, Bothwell out of the house quhaire he was lodged befoir, as it were in triumph ouer the king, was glorioussly remoued in sight

of

of the pepill into the Quenis awin lodging, and thare layed in a lower parler directly vnder the chamber quhaire the Quene hir self lay sicke. Thare quhile thay baith were yet feebill & vnhealed, she of hir disease, and he of his wound, the Quene being very weake of hir body, yet visited him daily. And quhan thay were baith a littill recouered, and thair strengthes not yet fully settled, thay returned to thair auld pastime againe, and that so openly as thay semed to feare nathing mair than least thair wickednes should be vnknawen.

About the v. day of Nouember, being remoued from Jedworth to a towne called Calco, thare she receaued letters from the king. Quhilk quhan she had red in presence of the Regent, the Erle of Huntley, and the Secretary, she cast a pitious luik, and miserably tormented hir selfe as if she wald haif byandby fallen down againe into hir former sicknes, & she plainly and expressly protested, that vnlesse she mought by some meane or vther be dispatched of the king, she should neuer haife ane gude day. And if by no vther way she cauld atteine it, rather than

she wald abide to liue in sic sorow, she wald slay hir selfe.

Within few dayes after, quhile in hir returne through Marchelād she lay at Coldingham, Dame Kerese passed through the watch and was knawen and let goe. Quhat company she had, and whether she went at that time of night, it is nat vnknawen to the Quene. From thense about the end of Nouember she came to Tragmillar, a castell about twa miles from Edenburgh. Thare in presence of the Erle of Murray (quhilk afterward was Regent, and now is him selfe also slaine) and of the Erles of Huntley and Argyle, and the Secretarie, she fell into hir sayd former discourse, and also added the maist commodious way, as she thought, how it might be brought to passe, that is, to sue a diuorce against the king. And she douted not but it might easily be obteined, forasmuch as thay were the one to the vther in sic degrée of consanguinitie, as by the Popes law might not marry together, specially (quhilk was easie for hir to do) the Eull being conueyed away quhairby the same law was dispensed with.

Cosin germanes.

with. Here quhen ane had cast a doubt, that if sche should goe that way to worke, thair sonne should be made a bastard, being borne out of lawfull wedlocke, specially sith neither of hys parentes were ignorant of the causes quhairby the mariage should be voide: this answer quhen sche had a quhile tossed in hir minde, and knew that he sayd trouth, and that sche durst nat as yit disclose hir purpose to make away hir sonne, sche gaue ouer that deuise of diuorce, and yit from that day forward sche neuer cessed to pursue hir intentioun of murdering the king, as may easily be perceiuit by that quhilke followid.

The King being returnid from Stereline to Cragmillar, quhen he hoipid to finde hir mair gentill toward him, and hir displeasure by processe of tyme somequhat appeasid, he so found na tokē of change of hir affectioun, that he was nat allowed any thyng for his dayly sustenance, bnlesse he kept him still at Stereline. Quhilk thing exceedingly encreased the pepils suspicioun, otherwise of it selfe alredy enough inclined to that iudgement, of

the vnchaist companiyng of the Quene with Bothwell

About the beginning of December, quhen there wer Embassadours come out of France and England, to the Chriſtening of the king that now is: that Bothwell might be gorgiously beſéne amang the Nobilitie, ſche hir ſelfe layed out the money to bye hym apparell, and ſum ſche baught hir ſelfe of the marchantes for him, and ſche ſa applied hir ſelfe with ſic diligence in ouerſeing the making therof, as if ſche had bene, I will nat ſay his wife, but euen his ſeruaunt. In the meane time hir lawfull huſband, at the Chriſtening of his awn childe, nat onely wanted all hir maintenance for his neceſſary expenſis, but alſo was cõmaundid nat ones to cum in the Embaſſadours ſight, his ordinarie ſeruantis were remouid from him, the nobilitie weir enioynid nat ones to attend on him, nor to do him honor, nor in a maner to know him: the forren Ambaſſadouris wer warnid nat to talke wyth him, quhen yet the maiſt pairt of the day thay wer all in the ſame Caſtel quhere he was.

The

The young gentleman thus contemptuously and vnkindly vsed, fell in sic despeire, that he departed from Stereline and went to Glascow to his father. At his departure the Quene still pursued him with hir wonted haitred. All his siluer plate quherewith he was serued from hys mariage tyll that day, sche tooke it away euery whit, and appointed pewter in the steede thereof. But let this serue onely to proue hir contempt of him: the rest that followed are euident argumentes of outragious crueltie and vnappeasable haitrid. Ere he was passid a mile from Stereline, all the pairtes of his bodie wer taken with sic a sore ache, as it might easily appeare that the same proceded nat of the force of any sickenesse, but by playne trecherie. The tokens of quhilke trecherie, certayne blacke pimples sa sone as he was cum to Glascow, brake out ouer all his hole bodie, with sa great ache and sic peine throughout all his limmes, that he lingred out his life with very small hoipe of escape: and yet all this quhile the Quene wald nat suffir sa much as ane Phisitioun anes to cum at him.

Efter the Ceremonies of the Chri-
ſtening ended, ſche practiſid with hir
brother the Erle of Murray, that quhē
he ſhould go to cōduct the Erle of Bed-
ford, the Quene of Inglādis Ambaſſa-
dor to S. Andrewes, he ſhould require
Bothwell alſo to beare him companie.
Quho in deide frankly promiſed ſa
to do, howbeit baith he and the Quene
the deuiſer of that diſſimulatioun,
thoght nathing leſſe, as the ſucceſſe
ſchewed. For ſa ſone as the king was
gone to Glaſcow, and the reſt towart
S. Andrewes, ſche with hir Bothwell
got hir to Drumen, and from thence
to Tylebarne. In quhilke houſis they
ſa paſſid the time about viij. dayes, in
euery corner, and in familiar haunting
together, as all (ſauing themſelues a-
lone that had throwē away all ſchame)
wer hiely offended with their cōtempt
and vile regard of publike fame, ſeing
them now nat ones to ſēke to couer
thair filthy wickedneſſe.

Quhen about the beginning of Ja-
nuary thay wer returned to Stereline,
ſche begā to finde fault with the houſe
quherein hir ſonne was nurſed, as in-
commodious becaus it ſtode in a colde

and

and moyst place, dangerous for bring-
ging the childe to a rewme. But it shall
easily appeare that this was done for
vther purpose, for as much as all these
faultes that sche pretended baith weir
nat in that house, and also wer in deid
in the vther house to quhilke the childe
was remeuid, beyng set in a low place
and a very marishe. The childe being
scarcely aboue vj. monethes olde, in
the deepe of a sharpe winter, was con-
ueyed to Edenburgh. There, because
the first attempt preuailed nat, and the
force of the poyson was ouercome by
strength of nature, that at length yet
sche might bring furth that quherwith
sche had sa lang traueiled, sche entreth
into new deuises for the murder of
the King.

Hir self goeth to Glascow, sche pre-
tendeth the cause of hir iorney to be to
see the king aliue, quhoes deith sche
had continually gapid for the whole
moneth befoir. But quhat was in deid
the trew caus of that iorney, ech man
may plainely perceiue by hir letters to
Bothwell. Being now out of care of
hir sonne, quhom sche had in hir awne
warde, bending hir selfe to the slaugh-

ter of hir husband, to Glascow sche goeth, accompanied with the Hameltons and vther the kings naturall enemies.

Bothwell, as it was betwene tham befoir accordid, prouideth all thyngis redy that were nedefull to accomplisshe the haynous act, first of all a house nat commodious for a sick mã, nor comely for a king, for it was baith forne & ruinous, & had stand empty without any dweller for diuerse yeares befoir: in a place of small resort, betwene the auld fallen wallis of two Kirkes, neare a few almes houses for poore beggers. And that no commodious meane for committing that mischiefe might be wãting, there is a posterne dore in the towne wall hard by the house, quherby thay might easily passe away into the fieldes. In chusing of the place sche walde needes haif it thoght that thay had respect to the holesomnes. And to auoyde suspicioun that this was a faynid pretence, hir selfe the two nightes nert befoir the day of the murder, lay there in a lower rowme vnder the kingis chamber. And as sche did curiously put of the shewes of suspicioun from hir selfe, sa the executionn of the

slaugh-

slaughter sche was content to haue committed to vther.

About thre deyes befoir ȳ the King was slaine, sche practisit to set hir brother Robart, and him at deadly feude, making reckening that if schould be gayne ta hir, quhilk sa euer of tham baith had perishit. For mater to groūd thayr dissentioun, sche made reherssall of the speach that the King had had with hir concerning her brother. And whan thay baith sa grew in talke, as the one seemed to charge the vther with the lye, at last thay were in a maner come from wordes to bloes. But while thay were baith laying thayr handes on thayr weapons, the Quene fayning as thogh sche had be perilouslously affrayit of that quhilk sche earnestly desirit, callith the Erle of Murray her vther brother to the parting, to this intent that sche might eyther presently bring him in danger to be slayne him self, or in time to come to bear the blaime of sic mischeife as than might haif happenit. Whan this way the succesſe fell nat out as sche desirit, sche deuisit a new way to transferre the suspicion from her self. While the Erle

of Murray dyd willinglye keipe himself from t' e Court, and had reasonable excuse for hys absence, for that his wife lying neir her time, was besyde that alswa verye seke: at the same time thare was an Embassador come from the Duke of Sauoy. This the Quene tuke for a conuenient colour to sende for her brother: but the trew cause of hyr sendyng for hym was, that sche had a desire to throw the suspicioun of the Kyngis murder vpon hym, and vpon the Erle Mozeton, and therwythall alswa at anes to procure the distructioun of those twa being men acceptable to the peipll and likely aduersaries to her practise quha entendyt to set vp a tyrannicall regiment. But Gods gude clemẽcy that oft befoir had deliuerit the Erle of Murray fra many tresons of hys enemeis, dyd than alswa manifestly succour hym: for vpon the sonday quhilk was the ix. day of Februarie, quhen he was going to the Kirk to ane sermon, a letter was brought him that hys wief was deliuerit afore hyr time, and in veray small hoip of lief. Quhen he being dismayit with these sodeu newes, prayd leaue of

the

the Quene to depart, ſche anſwerit, that gif the caas wer ſa, it wer a ſuperfluous iourney for hym to go to hyr, beyng nat abill to do hyr eny gude in hyr ſickneſſe. But quhen he was ſtyll mair importunate, ſche prayit hym, that he wauld yit tary but that one night, and take hys iourney the nest day to his wyfe. But the clemencie of God, as at many vther times, haith deliuerit the innocent gentleman fram preſent peril, and alſwa take away the occaſioun of ſclander agaynſt hym in time to com. Howbeit for al this thogh there were no cauſe of ſuſpitioun, yit he eſchaped nat free from ſclander: for Huntley and Bothwell, though thay could nat iuſtly charge hym, yet laboured by infamous libelles quhilk thay ſpread abroad, to diſſeyne hym wyth the maiſt foule ſpotte of that ſchamfull act. And quhairas the murder was cõmitted after midnight, they had befoyr daylight cauſed by ſpeciall forapointid meſſengers rumors to be ſpred in Ingland, that the Earles of Murray and Moreton were doers of that ſclaughter. But that rumour, ſo ſoone as the light of the truth ones brake forth, ſo-

denly vanisched away, as vther fal-
shodes are commonly wont to do.

Quhen all thingis were redy pre-
parit for perfourming this cruell fact,
and yit all occasiouns cut of to diuert
the blame thayrof, the partenaris of
the conspyracie fearyng lest lang delay
shauld eyther bryng some impediment
to thair purpose, or disclose thayr coun-
selles, determynit to dispatch it in hast.
The Quene thairfoir, for manners
sake after supper, goeth vp to the Kin-
gis lodging. Thare, being determinit
to shew him all the tokens of reconci-
led gude will, sche spent certaine hou-
res in his company, with countenance
and talke mikle mair familiar than sche
had vsid in fyre or seuen monethis be-
foyr. At the comming in of Paris sche
brake of hir talk, & prepared to depart.
This Paris was a yong man borne in
France, & had liued certayne yeires in
the houses of Bothwell, & Seton, & ef-
terwart with the Quene. Quhairas
the vther kayis of that lodging wair in
custody of the Kingis seruants, Paris
by fayning certayne fond and sclender
causis, had in keipyng the keyis quhilk
Bothwell kept backe, of the back gate

and

and the posterne. He was in specyall trust with Bothwell and the Quene, touchand thayr secrete affayres. His comming (as it was befoyr agreit emang tham) was a waitchword that all was ready for the matter. As sone as the quene saw hym, schc rose vp immediatly, and feyning an vther cause to depart, schc sayid, Alas I haif mikle offendit towart Sebastian this day that I come not in a maske at hys mariage. This Sebastian was an Aruernois, a man in greit fauour with the quene for his cunning in musike, and his mery iesting, and was maryit the same dey. The king thus left in maner alone in a desolate place, the quene departith accompanyit wyth the Erles of Argile, Huntley, and Cassilis, that attendit vpon hyr. Efter that schc was come into her chamber after midnicht, schc was in lang talke with Bothwell, none byeng present but the capitayne of her gard. And quhen he alswa withdrew him selfe, Bothwell was thare left alone without vther cumpany, and schortly efter retyred into hys awin chamber. He chainged hys apparell, because he wald be vnknawin of sic as

met hym: and put on ane lose cloke, sic as the Swartryters weare, and sa went forwart thorow the watch to execute hys intendit trayterous fact. The whole ordor of the dyyng thayrof, may be easely understude by thayr confessions quhilk were put to deith for it.

Bothwell eftir the dede was ended that he wēt for, returned, & as if he had ben ignorant of al that was don, he got him to bed. The Quene in the meane time in great expectation of the succes, how finely scho played hir part (as scho thought) it is marvell to tell. For scho nat anes stirred at the noise of ȳ fall of the house, quhilk schoke the hale towne, nor at the fearfull outcryis that followit, & confused crycs of the pepill, (for I thinke there happenit hir nat any new thyng vnlukit for) till Bothwell fayning hymselfe afrayde, rose agayn out of his bed and came to hir with the Erles of Argile, Huntley, and Athole, and with the wyues of the Erles of Athole and Murray, and with the Secretarie. There quhile the monstrous chaunce was in tellyng, quhile euery one wondered at the thyng, that the kyngis lodging was euin from the ve-

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ry foundation blown vp into the ayre, & the kyng him self slayne: in this amasednesse & confuse feare of all sortes of persons, onely that same heroicall hart of the Quene, maintenit it selfe so far from castyng hir selfe downe into base lamentations and teares vnbeseamyng the Royall name, blud, and estate, that she matched or rather farre surmounted all credit of the constancie of any in former tymes. This also proceded of the same nobilitie of courage, that she set out the mair part of tham that wer then about hir, to enquire out the maner of the doyng, and commandit the soldiars that watchit to follow, & she hir selfe settlit hir selfe to rest, with a countenance sa quyet, and mynde sa vntroublit, that she swætely slept till the next day at none. But least she should appere voide of all naturalnesse at the death of hir husband, by litil and litill at length she kept hir close, & proclamed a mournyng nat lãg to endure.

The commoun pepill, nat certainly knawyng whether she laughed or lamented, wer diuided into sondry imaginations, sith it was perilous dealing with the disguising of the court, either

in knawyng it to seme to mock it, or in nat cunnyngly dissemblyng to seme to knaw it. Quhile seme talked of one sorte, seme of an vther, in the meane tyme of any inquirie to be had of the murder, there was na mention made at all. At length, the day followyng, at efternoone, quhen baith shame and feare constrainit them thereto, Bothwell the principall doer of the vyle act, with certaine vther that wer priuie to the same, assemblit together with the Erle of Argyle for that he is by inheritance the Justice to deale with crimes punishable by death. First as though thay had bene vtterly ignorant of all that euer was done, thay begynne to wonder at the strangenesse of the mater, sic as neuer was heard of, and incredible. Then thay begyn to be busie a litill about thair inquirie, thay sent for a few poore silly women that dwelt there about. Quhilk poore saules standing in dout whether it wer better for tham to tell or hald thair peace, though thay deintily tempered thair spech, yet quhen thay had blabbed out somwhat mair then the iudges luked for, thay wer dismissed againe as fooles that had

but

but vndiscretly prated. For thair testi-
monies, though thay touched some
folkes shrewdly, yet thay were sic as
thay might easily set lyght by. Then
were called and examined the kyngis
seruantes that wer of hys houshold, sic
as wer left vndestroyit with the cruell
chaunce. Thay denyed that thay had
the keyes in keyping. Beyng examined
quho had tham, thay sayd the quene.
So the enquirie for maners sake was
adiornit, but in dede suppressit, for
feare least if thay proceded further, the
secretes of the court might hap to be
disclosed. Yet least the mater should
seme nat to be regarded, out goeth a
proclamatioun with rewardes promi-
sed to hym that could geue informa-
tioun of it. But quho durst accuse the
quene for (quhilk was in maner mair
perilous) quho durst detect Bothwell
of sic a horrible offence: specially quhē
he hym selfe was baith doer, iudge, in-
quirer, and examiner? Yet this feare
quhilk stoppit the mouthes of euery
man in particular, could nat restraine
the hale multitude in generall. For
baith by bukes set out, & by pictures,
and by cryes in the darke night, it was

sa handelit, that the doers of the mis-cheuous fact might easily vnderstand that those secretes of thairs wer come abrode. And quhen euery man was now out of dout, quho dyd the murder, and quho gaue furtherance vnto it, the mair that thay laborcd to kepe thair own names vndiscloſit, so much the peoples grudge restraynit brake out mair openly. Though thay tuke vpō tham as if thay regardit nat these thynges, yet sometyme the rumors sa nerely prickit them to the quick, that thay could by no meanes hyde thair anger. Thairfoir, discontinuyng thair searchyng for the kynges death, they begyn a new enquirie, farre mair earnest, against the authors of bukes, and the slanderers of Bothwell as thay tham selues termed tham. These examinations wer sa rigorously put in execution, as nouther money, nor labor of men nor horses was spared about it. All the paynters were callit togither, all that earned thair liuing by writyng, wer assembled, to iudge of the pictures and bukes that had ben set out. And if ane painter had nat of hys awn accord confessit, that it was he of quhoes

worke

wo2ke thay inquirit, an vther that was not gilty therof, but touchit a litill with a slight suspicioun, had suffred so2 it. There was publisshed a p2oclamatioun agreable with the maner of the Inquisition, quhairin it was made death, nat onely to set out any sic mater, but also to rede it beyng set out by ane vther. But these persones that with thretenyng of death practised to stoppe the speche of the pepill, yet nat satisfiit with maist cruell murder of the king, cessit nat thair batrit against him quhē he was dead. All hys gudes, armure, ho2ses, apparell, & vther furniture of his house, the quene diuidit, some to tham that slew hym, and some to hys fathers auncient deadly foes, as if thay had vpon atteinder come to hir by so2faiture: and hys fathers tenantes, as though thay had ben alswa part of hir conquerit bwty, she sa scraped till she b2ought tham in a maner to extreme beggerie.

But this was a strange example of crueltie and sic as neuer was heard of befoir, that as she had satisfied her heart with hys slaughter, sa she wold nedes fede hir eyes with the sight of

hys bodie slayne. For she lang beheld nat onely without grefe, but allwa with gredy eyes, hys dead corps, the gudiest corps of any gentleman that euer liued in this age. And than sodenly, without any funerall honor, in the night tyme, by commoun carriers of dead bodies, vpon a vile bére, she caussit hym to be buryed hard by Dauid Rizo. Quhen these doynges were knawin abrode, and that the indignatioun of the pepill had ouercome the threatnynges of penalties, and the frãkneſſe of sorrow surmounted feare, by litill and litill she beganne to set hir face, and with counterfaiting of mournyng she labored to appease the hartes of the grudgyng pepill. For quhair the auncient maner hath ben for quenis efter the death of thair husbandes, by the space of fortye dayes, not onely to forbeare the companie of men, but allwa from lukyng on the open light, she attemptit a disguisit maner of mournyng. But the myrth of heart far passing the fayned sorrow, she shut the dorres in dede but she set open the windowes, and within fower dayes she schew alway hir wayling wéde, and

gane

gane to behald baith sunne and open skye agayne. But this ane thyng fell very ouerthwartly. For quhen Henry Killegrée, was come from the quene of Ingland to comfort her, as the maner is, this gentleman strangeris hap was to marre the play and bnuisor all the disguising. For quhen he was, by the quenis commaundement come to the Court, though he beyng an auld courtier and a gud discrete gentleman, did nathyng haistily, yet he came in sa vnseasonably ere the stage wer prepared and furnished, that he found the windowes open, the candeles nat yet lighted, and all the prouision for the play out of order. Quhen of the forty dayes that are apoyntit for the mournyng, scarce twelue wer yet fully past, and the counterfaityng wald nat frame half handsomely, & to disclose hir true affections so sone she was somewhat ashamit, at length takyng hart of grace vnto hir, and neglectyng sic trifles, she commeth to her own byace, and openly sheweth hir owne naturall conditions. She passeth to Setons house, with a very few and those not all of the saddest company. There Bothwel,

though it semed that for the great fauor he than had in court, and for the nobilitie of hys byrth, & other respectes of honor, he should haue ben, next efter the quene, most honorably receiued, yet was iudged in a chamber hard by the kitchin. Nowbeit the same was a place not altogether vnfit to asswage thair sorrowes, for it was directly vnder the quenis chamber: and if any sodein qualme of grefe should haue happned to come ouer hir hart, there was a paire of stayres, though somewhat narrow, yet wyde enough for Bothwell to get vp to comfort hir.

In the meane tyme, efter the rumor hereof was spred into France, Monsieur de Croc, quho had often befoir ben Embassadour in Scotland, came in sodenly vpon tham, God wote full vnseasonably. By hys aduise she returned to Edenburgh, out of that denne quhilk euen as far as France was infamous. But in Setons house were sa many commodious opportunities for hir purpose, that how soeuer hir gud name wer therby appeyred, nedes she must ga thether agayne. There were conselles holden of the great affaires

of

of the realme. The end of the consultatioun was, that Bothwell sholde be arrainit of the murder, and acquitit by iudges therto chosen for the nones and constrainit. It was concludit, that the meaner sorte of the iudges might with fauor and fayre promises. be ledde, and the rest of the greater and grauer sort (whom for fashions sake thay were driuen to call to the mater) might be drawen with feare to acquite hym. For byside libelles therof commonly throwen abrode, the kyngis father the Erle of Lennor did openly accuse hym for principall author of the murder.

The assemblie of the states in parlament was at hand, quhilk was to be halden the xij. of Aprill, befoir quhilk day thay wald nedes haue the arrainement dispatchit. That great hast was the cause, quhy in that preceding and triall nathyng hes ben done according to the forme of law, nathing in order, nathing after the auncient vsage. There ought to haue bene publike summons of the accusers, the next of the kinne, the wife, the father, and the sonne, eyther to be present thamselfis,

or to send thair procors. The law also gaue tham tyme of forty dayes. But hair the father was commaundit to cum within fyf. dayes, and that wythout any assembly of his frendis, wyth hys awne houshold retinue anely, quhilk by reason of his great powertie was now brought to a few: quhile in the meane tyme Bothwell with great bandes of men, dayly mustered about the towne. And bycause he berely beleuit that in sa affurit perill na man would take vpon hym to be hys accuser, he grew to sic ane negligence, and sic contempt of law and iudiciall proceadyng, that the diclay was framit of ane murder supposit to be done the ix. day of Februarij, quhen in dede the kyng was slayne the x. day. In chosing and refusing of the Judges, the lyke seueritie was vsid, for the murderers tham selfis made the choise of the Judges, quhen there was na man to take exceptioun against tham. The Erle of Cassiles, willing rather to pay hys amercemēt as the maner is, than to be a Judge in the matter, quhen he had stode in it a quhile and wald nat appeare at the Quenis requeſt & mana-

Endite-ment.

cyng

cing, yea though sche sent hir ring for credit baith of hir earnest prayer and threatning, at length constraynit with feare of exile and punitioun, he yelded. There sate the Judges, nat chosin to iudge, but piked out to acquite: the cause procedit wythout any aduersarie: a triall in a matter of life & deith, quhen there was neuer ane accuser, but suborned by the partie accused: so as a man might well thinke it not the triall of a cause in a court but the playing of ane enterlude vpon a stage. In all this reckelesnesse of all thinges, yet behald I pray you of quhat force is the testimony of conscience on either side. Sodenly, vnluked for, there starteth vp a youngman of the Erle of Lennox house, in quhame the respect of dutie vanquisht the feare of danger. This youngman made ane open protestatioun that the same assembly of Judges was nat lawfull, bycause in thair proceding there was nathing done according to law nor order. At thys saying the Judges were all striken in sic a feare, that thay all by and by with one mouth made protestatioun, with promise that it should nat hereafter be pre-

iudiciall to tham, in that thay acquited a p:ſoner quhame na man accuſed, and that thay had acquitit him of a murder allegit to be committit the ir. day of Febr:uary quhen the kyng was ſlayne the p. day. This is that ſaim nobill triall and iudgement, quhairby Bothwell wes, not cleanſed of the crime, but as it weir waſhed with ſowters blacking, and ſa mair comely p:epared to goe a woing to wed the Quene, and ſa to become a huſband to hir greater ſchame than he was befoir an adulterer. To make vp yet the full perfectioun and encreaſe of this iolly acquitall, there was ſet vp a w:itying in the moſt noto:ious place of the court, that though Bothwell had by iuſt triall and iudgement bene lawfully cleanſed and acquitit of the murder quhairof he had ben falſely accuſit, yet fo: mair manifeſt declaratioun of his innocēcie to the hale wo:ld, he was redy to trie it in combat, if any man of gude fame and a gentilman bo:ne would charge him with the murder of the king. The nert day after, there was ane that ſet vp a bill in open place, and offred to accept the

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combat, sa that there might for the battell be sic a place appointed, quhairin the partie mought safely without feare disclose his name.

Quhile maters and mens affections were in this styre, the parlament assembled. There after thay had for fyfe dayes together, in maner done nathing but treated of reuersing ȳ iugement, quhairby the Erle Huntleyes father had ben attaintit of treason, & for restoryng the sonne to hys fathers possessions and honors: there were alswa certaine plausible thyngis grauntit to please the pepill, and specially for the kirke, namely the repellyng of certain lawes of popish tyrannie made for punischyng of sic as durst ones mutter agaynst the decrées of the sée of Rome. Thoughthese thingis were acceptable among the commonaltie, yet there remainit ane thyng quhilk na lesse vexed the quene thẽ offended the pepil, that is to say, hir cõpanieng with Bothwel, not altogether sa openly as she wald faine haue had it, and yet not sa secretly but that the pepill perceiuit it, for that all mens eyes were gazyng vpõ tham. For quhairas Bothwel had

a wife of his owne, & to tarry for a diuorce was thoght an ouerlang delay, and in the meane time the quene could nouther openly anow to haue him, nor secretly enioy hym, and yit in no wise could be without hym, some shift, though nat an honest ane, yit a shift forsothe, must be deuised. And quhen thay could nat thinke vpon a better, it semit tham a maruelous fine inuentioun god wote, that Bothwell should rauishe and take away the Quene by force, and sa saue hir honour. Sa within a few daies after, as the quene was returning from Stercline, Bothwell forceably toke hir by the way and carit hir to Dunbarre: whether with hir will, or agaynst hir will, euery man may easily perceiue by hir awin letters that sche wrote to him by the way as sche was in hir iourney. But howsoeuer it weir, that the wrong of the rauishment might be defaced with honest colour of mariage, Bothwels wife was compelled, in twa courtis to sue a diuorce against hir husband.

Befoir Judges delegate appointit by the quenis authoritie to haif iurisdictioun in sic causis, the wife accuseth

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the husband of adulterie, quhilke with tham was a iust cause of diuorce. Before Popishe Judges quho in deed by law weir forbidden, yet by speciall dispensatioun of the Bischop of S. Andrew, weir for the hearing of this cause anely permitted, Bothwell was accusit, that befoir his mariage with hys wife, he had committit fornicatioun with his wiues neare kinswoman: howbeit all this quhile thay kept close the Popis Bull by quilk the same offence was dispensit with. The diuorce was posted forwart without any slacknes either in the witnesses or in the Judges. Within the space of 15. dayes, the matter was taken in hand, began, and intented, ioynit vnto, tryit and iudged befoir baith the companies of Judges. Quhen the sentence of diuorce was geuen and sent to Dunbar, Bothwell by and by assembleth together frō all pairtes, all his friendis, his seruantis, and reteiners, to conuey to Edenburgh the quene, quho wauld then nedes take vpon hir to be a prisoner. Quhen thay weir thus gatherid together, the maist pairt of tham in armour, by the way as thay weir con-

ducting the quene, many of tham weir sodenly striken in some feare, least in time to cum they might be chargit for halding the quene as prisoner, and that though there were none vther euidence, yet this ane thing would be prefe enough against tham, that in time of peace thay were found armid about hir. Quhile thay were in thys doubt, in the middest of thair iorney thay all threw away thair launces, and in mair peasabill array, at least in schew, thay conueyed hir to the castell of Edenburgh, quhilke castell was also the same tyme at Bothwelles commaundement. There sche taried with Bothwell, quhile the banes weir publisching. Then sche came dowine out of the Castell into the towne, to the commoun assembly of the Iudges, and there pronouncit hir selfe to be frée and at hir awne libertie. And sa at length within viij. dayes sche finished that vnmatrimoniall matrimonie, all gude men sa farre detesting or at least grudgingly foreiudging the vnlucky end thereof, that Monsieur do Croc the French kinges Embassadour, a mã very well affectionit to the quene,

ane

ane of the factioun of the houſe of Guiſe, and ſoiorning very neare to the place, though he were earneſtly required, yet thoght he could nat wyth his honor be preſent at the feaſt.

Theſe thyngis wer done about the xb. of May, in the yere. 1567. The xb. day of June followyng, Bothwell beyng either diſmayed with gilty conſcience of the vile fact, or ſent away by the quene, ſhe came her ſelfe to the Lordes of the realme, quho earneſtly requirit the publike kyngmurderer to be brought forth to due execution. Quhat hath ſins ben done, perteineth nat much to this preſent mater. And though my ſpech haue perhappes ben langer than you luked for, yet I playnly perceiue in my ſelfe, that quhile I ſeke to make end of my tale, many thyngis I haue omittit, and many thyngis for haſt I haue but lightly touchit, and nathing haue I accordyng to the haynouſneſſe of the offenſe fully expreſſit.

# Ane oratioun, with declaration of euidence againſt Marie the Scotiſhe Quene quhairin is by neceſſarie argumentis plainely prouit that ſche was giltie and priuie of the ſayde murder.

SIth theſe thingis are by writings and witneſſes ſa prouaible, and ſtick ſa faſt emprintit in the knaledge of all the pepill, that ſic as wald maiſt haue thaim hidden, yet can nat deny thaim: quhat plaice is here left for cunning, or quhat neid can be of diligence, to preue or repreue a thing ſa plaine and eudent? For all thingis are ſa cleir, ſa manifeſt, and ſa mutually knit togetther, ech paire to ſtrengthen vther, that there is na neid of forevne probations, and all thingis ſa fully witneſſit, that there is na neceſſitie of vther argumentis. For if any will aſke me, as in vther matters is wont to be aſkit, the cauſes of ſa fowle a fact, I might alſwa likewiſe aſke of hym, ſith the time, the plaice, the deede, and the autor is ſufficiently knawen, to quhat purpoſe is it to ſtand vpon ſearcheing the cauſes, or to enquire by quhat meanes it was archeuit? Agayne quhen there be extant ſa many cauſes of hatrit,

and

and sa many taikens thereof do offer thamselues to knawlege, as may well be able to bryng euin thyngis vncertain to be beleuit, surely sa farre fet an explicatioun of the act committed may right weill seme superfluous. Mat the lesse, for as mikle as sa great is the impudence of the vile offenders in denyeng, & sa confident the boldnesse of impudent persones in lyeng, let vs assay to see with quhat wepons truth is able to defend innocencie agaynst those wicket monsters. If than thay demand the cause of sa haynous a dede, I answere, it was vnappeasable hatrit. I demand of tham agayne if thay can denye that sic hatrit was, or that the same hatrit was sa great as without blud cauld nat be satisfiet? If thay denie that sic hatrit was, than let tham answere me, why she a yong woman, riche, noble, and finally a Quene, thrust away from hir in maner into exile the yong gentleman, beautifull, nere of hir kin, of the blud royall, and (that maist is) entierly louyng hir, in dede of sharp wynter, into places nouther fruitfull of thyngis necessarie, nor replenished with inhabitantes, and cõmõly perilous with haunt of theifes? why sent she him away into desert and barren craggy mountaines, without prouision, into open perilles, and in maner without any cõpanie? Quhat wald

she els haue haue done if she had maist deidly haitit hym, & couaitit to haue him dispatchit? But I trow she feared na sic thyng. But that voydenesse of feare, I construe to be a note of maist obstinate hatrit, specially sithe she baith knew the places and was nat ignorant of the dangers. That husband thairfoir, to quhom she was but laitely weddit, against the liking of hir subiectes, against the will of the freindis on baith sides, without quhom she cauld nat endure, quhom she scarcely durst suffer out of her sight, hym I say she thrusteth forth to vncertaine death and maist certaine perils.

Will ye aske of me the causes of the chainge of her affectioun? quhat if I say I ken thaim nat? it sufficeth for my purpose to prone that she haitit hym. What if I aske agayne, why she sa extremely loued the younman quhom she neuer saw befoir? quhy she sa hastily maried him, and so vnmeasurably honorit him? Sic are the natures of some wemen, specially sic as can nat brouke the greatnesse of thair awne gud fortune: thay haue vehement affections baith wayes, thay loue with excesse, and hait without measure, and to quhat side sa euer thay bend, thay are not gouerned by aduised reason, but carried by violent motion. I cauld out of the monumentes

numentes of antiquitie rehearse innumerable examples, but of hir selfe I had raitheſt beleue hir selfe.

Call to minde that part of hir letters to Bothwell quhairin sche maketh hir selfe Medea, that is, a woman that nouther in loue nor in hatrit can kepe any meane. I could alswa allege vther causes of hir hatrit, although in dede nat reasonable causes, yet sic as are able to shoone forwart and to push hedlang a hart for outrage nat able to gouerne it selfe. But herein I will forbeare. And, if hir selfe will suffer me, howsoeuer she hath deseruit of hir subiects, yit sa much as the cõmoun cause wil permit, I will spare her honor, yea I will spare it mair than the cause will allow me. I omit thairfoir hir vther causes of hatrit, and returne to this, that she hatit and nat meanely hatit hym.

Wil ye see alswa an vther proue of hir hatrit? The tẽder wife forsoth so loning and fond of hym, quhen she could nat do him the dutie of a wife, offreth to do him the seruice of a bawde. Hir owne brothers wife she made choise of, to put to hym in hir place. Quhat shal we thinke to be the cause of this sa sodein change? Sche that quhilere gapingly sought for euery small breath of suspicioun againſt hir husband, and quhaire trew causes weir nat to be found, sche inuenrit sic as

weir manifestly falsse, and this sche curiously did, nat quhen sche louid hym, but quhen sche had begon to hate hym, and quhile sche was sisching for occasions to be diuorced from him, euen sche I say now of hir awne accorde offreth hym a louer, declareth hir awne contentatioun therewith, and promiseth hir furtherance. Quhat can we imagine to be the cause hereof? was it to pleasure hir husband? no, for sche hatit hym, and although sche louid him, yet sic maner of doing in a woman is incredible. was it that he knawing himselfe likewise gilty of adulterie on his pairt, might the maire willingly beare with a partner in vse of his wife? No, for he bare withall perforce against his will. was it to finde cause of diuorce, and sa to driue him to leaue his bed empty for Bothwell? Yea, that was it in deede that sche sought for, but yet nat that alone. For in this woman ye must imagine na single mischefe. Sche hatit the Erle Murrays wief, euin with sic hatrit as all vnhonest persons hait the honest. The difference of thair twa faines mikle vepit hir, & thairwithal allwa sche couthit to set the gud ladies husband & the king togethee by the eares, & sa rid hir selfe of twa combrances at ones. Thus see you how many and how greit thingis sche practisit to dispatch with ane labour.

Hir

Hir paramoyr enemie, the bridler of hir licentiousnes, & hir awne hatit husband she hopith to rid all at ones, quhile by sa sondry sortes of wicket doynges she maketh hast to hir maist wicket wedding.

Quhairto tendeth that fearefull hasty callyng for the Erle Murray at midnight? Could she nat tarrie til day light? quhat was the occasioun of sa sodeine feare? The gude woman, God wote, carefull for concord of the nobilitie, derely louyng hir brother, and maist derely louing hir husband, was afrayd forsoth, least hir brother shold in the night haif ben assaltit by the kyng, quhom she hir selfe had disarmit? disarmit, sayd I: Yea she had disfurnished him of all conuenient companie for his estate, & maid him be shaken vp with womens scolding, & that by one of hir awne traine, one past all shame and of prostitute vnchastitie. She feared perdie, least the yongman, destitute of all freindes, befet with all sortes of miseries, shold maike assalt in the night tyme. Upon quhat person? the Quenis brother, a man of a great reputatioun and power, and in hyest fauour with all estates. And quhair should he haue assailit him? in a maist strong castell, quhair vpon the dede done nouther was issue for him to flee, nor meane of refuge to the Quenis mercie. For quhat cause shold he assaile him? There was

no enmitie betwene thaim but sic as she had sowed. Quhat say you, if she couetit that thyng maist quhilk she most kayrit hir selfe to feare? For to quhat purpose elis sent she for hir brother to come to hir in the night tyme, vnarmed? why dyd she nat aduise him of this one thyng at least, that because he was to passe by, and hard by the kyngis doze, he shold in any wise put on his armour? why did she nat either forewarne hym of the danger, or differre the callyng of him till the next morning? Na na, she had a far vther purpose in hãd. She had but newly sent the kyng away, inflamed (as she hopit) with hatrit of the Erle Murray. So thoght she it nat vnlikely but that the kyng, kindlit with fresh displeasure, rasly by feruor of youth, lightly beleuing hir by excesse of loue, wald haue aduenturit to slay his supposed enemie, nakit, vnaccompanied and vnarmit. So sent she the kyng tagyng in anger to commit the slaughter, and practisit to draw the Erle Murray nakit, vnaccompanied, vnwarnit, to be sodenly trappit in treason. This was hir meanyng, this was hir desire. But wickit counsells, how suttle soeuer they be, are nat alway prosperous.

What meant this, that after hir deliuerance of childe, at quhilk time vther women do cheifly comfort thaim selues

in the louingnes of thayr husbandes, & confes that thay finde some ease of paine by sight of tham, sche at the same time driueth her husband away? Quhat eis shall we say sche meant thereby, but as the poet sayth, for pure loue God wot, she shut him out of dores. But this tender creature, that eyther shutteth out hir husband, or assone as he is come chaceth him away agayne, whoes stomach turnit at the sight of hym, quho is sodenly taken with pangis at hys presence, quhen sche was in the pynnesse amang pyrates and theefis, sche could abide at the powpe, and ioyit to handle the boysterous cables. Now alke I quhaime sche loued, and quham sche haytit. For that at Aloe sche drone away the combersome interrupter of her passime, that agayne quhen he came to hir to Edenburgh, sche reiected him, I blame hyr nat. I am content to beleif sche did it nat for hate to hir husband, but for hyr fanlies sake. That agayne at Iedworth sche suffrit him nat to come at hir, let it be borne withall: For nat without cause sche feart lest the force of hyr sicknesse wauld encrease at sight of him, whoes deith sche sa earnestly deyrit. That sche gaif special commaundement that na man shauld lodge him, na man shauld relieue him with meat or drincke, that sche in maner forbad him the vse of fyre

and water: thys is vndoubtedly a token of outragious haytrit. But it seemeth sche feart the veray infectioun of hir husband, if he wer in any place neir hyr. That sche sent hym backe from Tragmillar to Stercline, I complayne nat. But that sche bereued hun of all his necessaries, that sche take from him hys seruauntes, that sche abarit the allowance for hys expensis, that sche alienit the nobilitie from hym, that sche forbad strangeris the sight of him, and (as much as in hyr lay) take from him euen quhile he liued, the vse of heauen, earth, and ayre: thys, I say, I doubt quhat to call it, vnnaturalnesse, hatreit, barbarous fierrenesse, or outragious crudeltie? That quhen he went from Stercline sche take away all his plate, let it be pardoned, for what need had he of siluer, that carvit with him present death in his bosome? But this this I beseech you consider how greit indignatioun of all men it hath kindlit, that quhen the King pure saule hardly shiftit wyth lef in desolatioun, in sorrow, and in beggery, in the meane time Bothwell, as an Ape in purple, was triumphantly shewed to the Embassadouris of forene nationnis, euin that saim partener of hyr husbandes bed, nat sa mikle for loue of him selfe, as for despite of hyr husband, was caryit abroad, set out with

all

all kindes of ornamentes, euen that a-dulterous partener I say, that neyther in byrth, nor in beautie, nor in any ho-nest qualitie was in any wise compara-ble with hyr disdayned husband. Now let thaim denay that here were tokens of hatreyt.

But how great and how vnappea-sable this haitrit was, euen by this ye may gather. Hir husband sa oft shut out, sa oft sent away with dispite, driuin to extreme pouertie, banisched into a desolate corner, farre from the court, farre from presence of men, spoyled of hys seruantis and furniture of hous-shold, bereuit in a manir of his daily ne-cessary sustenance, yet by na iniuries can be shaken from hir, by na feare of deith can be withdrawen, but with seruice-ablenesse and patience he assayeth, if nat to ouercome, yit at least sumwhat to as-swage the violent crueltie of hir vnkind courage. In the meane tyme quhat doth this gude gentill wife, this mercyfull Quene, that is at beholding of mēs mi-series sa kinde and pitifull? Neither is sche anes mouit with the louing do-ingis, nor with the wretched plight, nor with the miserabill wofulnesse of hir husband, nor appeasit by tyme, nor sa-tisfyit with tormentis, but rathir wyth his seruiceablenesse sche is irritatit, with hys humble prayers sche is mair infla-

mit, & at euery tyme of his comming she deuiseth some new encrease of spitefull dishonor. Quhairin quhen she had spent the vttermaist of all hir force, of witte, & bitternes of nature, quhen sche saw the poore yong gentilman, neyther to gene ouir by fauntyng, beyng oppressit with pouertie, and though he weir despisit of all men, and sa oft throwen into opin perillis, neyther to despeire nor vtherwise mair cruelly to misdoe to himselfe, at length as it weir gluttit with sight of his miseries and tormentis, sche determinit presently to ridde him of hys calamities, hir selfe of iealousnesse, and hir adulterer from feare, and sa by certayne speciall personis thereto appointit, sche causit hym to be poysonit, that being absent from hir, he might sa die wyth lesse suspitionn. But of the poyson I wyll say mair in an vther place.

Quhen this practise fraumit nat fully to hir desire, sche goeth hir selfe to Glascow, that quhom being absent she could nat kill, sche might hir selfe in presence satisfie baith hir cruell hart and hir eyes with sight of hys present miseries. And as if hir selfe alone weir nat sufficient to execute the cruell tormenting of hym, sche bringeth into his sight the ministers of hir haynous doinges, and hys auncient naturall enemies, and wyth theis outragis trauailed to vexe hys

saule

saule at his last breath. But quhairto gather we argumentis as in a doubtfull cause, quhen sche hir selfe will nat suffir vs to doubt at all? sche the Quene hir selfe I say opinly protestit, nat to hir loner in bed, nat amang hir confederatis in secret chamber, nat befoir few and meane personis, of estait apt to flatterie, constraynit by pouertie, or of purpose affectionit, sche hir selfe I say opinly confessit, that sche could nat liue ane gude day if sche weir nat ridde of the kyng: and that nat ones, nor vnadvisedly, but in presence of those personagis quhome sche vsit to call to counsell in the weightiest affaires. For it can nat be sayd vnadvisedly slipped from hir that was sa oft spoken, in sa many, sa farre distant placis, with tearis allwa addit to moue credit, befoir men notabill, baith for their nobilitie, wealth, & wisdome, and quhairin sche declairit hir awne opinioun, practisit to winne thair assent, and harkenit for thair aduises. But be it that sche forgid al these things, be it that hir tearis weir faynit, let thaim nat beleue it that heard it, let the greatnes of the outrage make the report vncredibill. I my selfe allwa would gladly be ane of that number, to thinke these thingis vttrit by hir rathir to groape the myndis of vther, than that she hir self sa thoght in hir hart, if it weir

nat ſa that the thing it ſelfe confirmeth the repoꝛt, that the outragiouſneſſe of the doingis farre ſurmounteth all bitterneſſe of vtterance.

Quhen he was preparing to depart from Glaſcow, ſche cauſit poyſon to be geuen hym. You will aſke, by quhom? in quhat maner? quhat kind of poyſon? quhair had ſche it? Aſke you theſe queſtions? as though wickit Princis euer wantit miniſteris of thayꝛ wyckit treacheꝛeis. But ſtill you preſſe me perhaps and ſtill you aſke me who be theis miniſteris? Fyꝛſt that poyſoned he was, it is certeinly knawin: foꝛ though the ſchamleſneſſe of men wald nat ſticke to denay a thyng ſa manifeſt, yit the kinde of diſeaſe, ſtrange, vnknawin to the pepill, vnacquainted to phiſitiones, ſpecially ſic as had nat bene in Italy and Spayne, blacke pimples breaking out ouer all his body, greuous ache in all his limbes, & intollerable ſtinch, diſcloſe it. Gif thys cauſe wer to be pleaded beſoꝛe greaue Cato the Cenſoꝛ, all thys were ealie foꝛ vs to pꝛoue beſoꝛe hym that was perſwadit, that there is na adultereſſe, but the ſaim is allwa a poyſoner. Need we ſeek foꝛ a mair ſubſtantial witneſſe then Cato, euery of whoes ſentences antiquitie eſteemed as ſa many oꝛacles? ſchall we nat in a manifeſt thyng belene him whoes credite hath in

thingis

thingis douttull sa oft prenayled? Loe here a man of singular vprightnes, and of maist notable saythfulnes and credite beareth witnesse, agayust a womã burnyng in hatrit of hir husband, & in loue of ane adulter, and in baith theis diseasis of corrupt affectiounis vnbridelit, vntemperable by her estayt, raging by hyr power, and indulgently following the wantonnes of hyr wealth. But let vs omit auld and dissuled thingis, and let vs seuer the credite of inconstaunt multitude from the case of Princes. Let vs in sa greit a mater admit no witnesse in quhom eyther hys estait may be suspectit, or his manners may be blamit. Quhat witnessis than schall we vse? for by thys conditioun, we may bring forth none vnder the royall degree of a King or a Quene. But sic vile actis are nat wont to be committit by noble and gud men, but by leud and wickit ministeris. Howbeit that herin alswa the maist precise may be satisfyit, go to, let vs bring forth a royall witnesse. Read her awin letter, her letter (I say) written with her awin hand. What mean theis wordes, He is nat mikle deformit, and yit he hes receiuit mikle. Quairof baith he receauit mikle? The thing it selfe, the disease, the pimples, the sauour do tel you. Euin that perdy he receauit, that brocht deformitie, forsoth veray poyson. But

her letters name not poyson. Thys is sufficient for me that is thare sayit, that though he receauit mikle, he is nat mikle deformit, or, though he be nat mikle deformit, yit he receauit mikle. Quhat meaneth this word Yit? quhat els but this, that quhat sa euer it was that he receauit, the saim was the cause of hys deformitie, quhilk though it were mikle, yit was it nat mikle enough to worke sic deformitie as was desyrit. But be it, it wer not poyson. What then was it els? You can finde na thing that can with conuenience of reason be named in place of it. Finally quhat sa euer it be that is meant by thys worde mikle, it is sic, as sche hyr selfe in sa secreit and familiar a letter dare not call by the right name. Yea and though we wald schyft it of by cautilous expounding, yit sche hyr selfe will nat suffer vs. Compare that quhilk went befoir with that quhilk foloweth, and by hyr deuise and purpose for tyme to come, ye schall easely vnderstand quhat it is that sche hath done in time past. First sche sayth it is needfull that he be purged, then sche determineth to cary him to Cragmillar, quhaire baith the physitions, and (quhilk is mair dangerous than any physition) sche hyr selfe may be presēt. Finally she asketh counsell of Bothwell, quhether he can deuise any secreter way by medicince, and that

at

at Cragmillar, & after a bath. See how all thingis hang together. He haith receuit mikle, he muſt be purged, and at Cragmillar, that is, in a deſolate corner, in a place by reaſon of ſmale reſorte very apt for a miſchief to be committed. And Medicine he muſt vſe, and quhat forſooth? euen the ſame quhairof he had before receauit mikle. How ſchall that appeare? Sche wil haue the maner of miniſtring the medicine to be ſecret. If it be to heal him, quhat need that ſecrecie? quhy is it nat miniſtrit openly and in a notorious peoplid place? Now he is eaſed of hys ſickeneſſe, luſty and healthy, why is he purged in an vnuſuall maner and an vnhaunted corner? But perhaps it was a ſtrange kynde of diſeaſe, it had nede of ſtrange remedies. Quhat Phiſicions then called ſhe to counſell? to quhom is this charge committit to ſeke out a new medicine and curyng for the kyng? Forſothe to the kyngis enemie, to the Quenis adulterer, the vileſt of all twafootit beaſtes, quhoes houſe was in France defamit of poiſonyng, & quhoes ſeruantis wer there for the ſame cauſe, ſome torturit, ſome empriſonit, and all ſuſpectit. Quhen was he pointed to receiue this noble medicine? either at hys bathyng quhair he ſhould waſh alone, or after his bathyng quhair he ſhould ſuppe alone. So forſothe are medicines

accustomit to be prouidit by enemies, in secret place, without witnesses. That thairfoir quhilk an adulterer, an adultresse, and the partener of his wiues bodie, curiously prepareth, and secretly ministreth: quhat kynde of medicine it is, let eche man with hym selfe weye and consider. By this tyme I suppose you see, the hatrit of the Quene, how vnappeasable, how outragiously cruell, how obstinate it was agaynst hir husband, quhom she thrust amõg theiues, quhom she practisit to match in feude and battail with the nobilitie and with hir brethren, quhom nakit & poore, loden with dispites, vexit with raylinges, assailit with poisoun, she droue away into solitarie corner there to dye with extremest torment. Now let vs procede to the vther causes.

This hatrit it selfe was of it selfe sufficiẽt to pricke hir forwart to hir enemies slaughter, often sought, ones attemptit, and almost atcheued. Yet was there besides, ane stronger enforcement, able to enflame hir hatrit it selfe, I meane the loue quhairwith she intemperately fansied Bothwel: Quhilk loue quhosoeuer saw nat, and yet hath seen him, wil perhaps thinke it vncredible. For quhat was there in hym, that was of a womã of any honest countenance to be desired? was there any gift of eloquẽce? or grace

of

of beautie: or vertue of mynde, garnis-
hit with the benefites quhilk we call of
fortune: As for his eloquence and beau-
tie, we nede not make lang tale of tham,
sithe baith thay that haue sene hym can
well remember hys countenance, his
gate, and the hale forme of his bodie,
how gay it was: thay that haue heard
hym are not ignorant of his rude vtte-
rance and blockishnesse. But, ye will
say, he was in executyng attemptes,
wise and politike: in auenturyng of pe-
riles, hardy and valiant: in franke ge-
uyng, liberall: in vse of pleasures, tem-
perant. For wisedome, euin thay that
be maist affectionate vnto him, dare nat
charge him with it. Of valiantnesse in
dede he laborit to winne some estima-
tioun, but among horsemen, on a swift
stede well mountit, well prouidit for his
awne safetie, a beholder of vther mens
fighting, sometime hardly chacing tham
that fled, but his enemies face towart
him nere hand he neuer durst abide. wil
ye haue an example of his excellent va-
liantnesse? Of a theise, a notable cowart,
quhom beyng yelded and vnware he
had deadly woundit he was throwen
downe to the ground, hurt, bruit with
dyre strokes, and had ben starke slayne
if the poore theises strength beyng redy
to dye had nat fayled hym. I cauld re-
hearse hys glorious vayne braggeries

in France, I cauld tell of his last feare-full flight as far as to Denmark. But I had rather rubbe vp the remembrance of that day quhen the Quene forsakyng him, came to the nobilitie that protestit to reuenge the slaughter of the kyng. The armyes stode redy in array, Both-well in number of men was equall, in place had the auantage: there stode befoir him to be his reward beyng vanquisher, a Quene maist fauliefully loning him a kyngdome, wealth, and honor, for him and his posteritie, mairouer impunitie for his offenses passit, extreme libertie to do quhat he list in tyme to come, abilitie to auance his freindes and be reuenged on his enemies, and on the vther side if he were vanquishit, dishonor, pouertie, and banishment, finally all thingis that thereafter happenit or hereafter may happen weir then befoir his eyes. There weir also present beside the twa armies, beholders and witnesses of ech mans valiance and cowardice, the Quene the price of the battayle, and Monsieur de Croc the Embassadour of France. Now you luke to heare how this magnificall boaster of valiantnesse did acquit hymselfe. First, mountit vpon an excellent horse, he came brauely fourth befoir the armye. There the man forsoth very sparing of hys countrimēs

blude,

blude, and lautſhe of his awne, calleth
for ane to trie it wyth hym by combat
man to man. And quhen there weir
many on the vther ſide of honorabill
birth and eſtaites, that offrid to accept
the cumbat, by and by his violent heate
cooled, and his glorious ſpeche quaylit:
and had it nat bene that the Quene, as
it weic ſome God out of a ghine in a
tragedie, had by hir auchoritie taken vp
the mattir, and forbidden hir prety ve-
nereous pigioun to do battaile, he had
fayled to finde nat onely a meane but al-
ſwa an honeſt colour to refuſe to fight.
And ſa the combat interruptit, yit in the
ioynit battayle he valiantly behauit
hym. Farforth the firſt man, almoſt at
the beginning, and alone, he ranne hys
way, and ſa at length drew the reſt of
his pairt to flee after hym.

But his defaultes in martiall feates,
parhappes the man ſupplied with ci-
uile vertues. Alas quhat weir thay: or
quhat vertues coulde be luked for in
him: a man perdie brocht vp in the by-
ſchop of Murrayes palace, to wite, a
maiſt wickit corruptit houſe, in dronc-
kennes and horedomes, amanſt maiſt
vile miniſteries of diſſolute miſorder.
After that he was growen towart mās
eſtaite, at dice and amang harlottes he
ſo waſtit a maiſt gudely large reuenue
of his inheritance, that (as the Poet

sayth) at his nede he had nat left quhair-
with to buy him a halter to hang hym-
selfe, he I say that defilit nat onely vthir
mens houses with cuckoldrie, but allwa
hys awne with incestuous vilanie.

This man therefoir quhen I say to
haif ben belouit of the Quene, and nat
onely louit, but also outragiously and
vntemperately louit, they that knawe
it nat, will paraduenture thinke that I
tell monstrous wonders. But some
man parhaps will say: was there none
vther in all the troupe of the youth of
nobilitie, beside him mair worthy to be
belouit? Certes there were full many.
And ane there was, in all thynges that
are wont to allure luif, of all vther maist
excellent, euen hir awn husband. Quhat
was it than that ioynit sa vnegall luif
and sa farre against reasoun? Ist I shall
say it was likenesse of conditions, I
shall name a likely cause of luif, though
to some men parchance it shal seme ane
vntrue cause of thair luif. Neither am
I willing to enter into that discourse.
Neither do I affirme the rumours spred
of hir in France in time of hir first mari-
age: howbeit the wickitnes of the rest of
hir life make some proofe that thay erre
nat all of nathing. And many thingis
that haif ben noysit of hir suiet hir re-
turne into Scotland, I hane na will to
beleue. As for me I am content thay be

buried

buried in forgetfulnes, or if that can nat be, let thaim be discreditit, let thaim be taken for falſe and fainit. Neither alſo is it neceſſarie ouercurioully to examine cauſis in luik, quhilk is vſually ſa caryit with raſhe violent motioun of a muddy troublit minde, that for the maiſt pairt it endeth in madnes, quhilke if ye labour to gouerne by diſcrete aduiſe, ye do nathing els but as if ye ſhold endeuour to be mad with reaſon. But yit here alſo there want na cauſis, for there was in thaim baith a likeneſſe, if nat of beautie, if nat of outwart thingis, if nat of vertues, yit of maiſt extreame vices. Sche a young woman, ſodenly aduancit to the hieſt degree of authoritie, quhē ſche had neuer ſeene with hir eyes, heard with hir eares, nor conſiderit in hir hart the forme of a kingdome gouernit by law, and thereto was furniſhit with the vntemperate counſels of hir kinſmen, quho thainſelfis practiſit to ſet vp a tyrannous rule in France, endeuourit to draw right, equitie, lawes, and cuſtomis of auncеſters to hir awne vnchy becke and pleaſure.

Of this immoderate deſire there brak out from hir many times many wordes diſcloſing it. This ſche ſtudied day and night. But againſt this deſire there withſtode the cuſtome of the countrey, the lawes and ſtatutes, and principally

the consent of the nobilitie, quho remai-
nyng sate she cauld neuer attaine it. To
the end thairfoir that she might be able
violently to atcheue it, she determinit
by force to remoue all that stoode in hir
way. But she wist not well, by quhat
meane, or by quhoes help to attempt it.

Fraude was the way to worke it, for
that otherwise it was not possible to be
obteined. For this purpose thairfoir
Bothwell onely semed the fittest man, a
man in extreme pouertie, doutfull whe-
ther he wer mair vile or mair wickit, &
quho betweene factions of sondry religi-
ons, despising baith sides, counterfaitit a
loue of tham baith. He quhē he had ones
before offrit ȳ Hamiltounis his seruice
to murder ȳ Erle Murray, gaue thair-
by a likelihode that vpō hoipe of greater
gayne he wald not sticke to aduenture
some greater enterpryse, beyng one
quhom the ruine of his awne decayed
familie pricked forwart headlang to mis-
chef, and quhom na respect of godlynesse
or honestie restraynit from vngracious
doyng. As for excessiue and immoderate
vse of lecherie, he theriumo lesse sought
to be famous than vther mē do shunne
dishonour and infamie. Sche thairfoir
a woman gredily coueting vntemperit
authoritie, quho esteimit the lawes hir
prison, and the bridle of iustice hir bon-
dage, quhen she saw in hir husband nat

met-

mettall enough to trouble the state, she piked out a man for hir purpose, quho nouther had in his wealth any thyng left to be loſt, nor in his fame any thyng remayning that might be ſtainit, and yet ſic a one as ſtode nat vpon any ſic ſtrength but that he might eaſily be ouerthrowen agayne quhen ſhe ſhould ones waxe wery of him: ſic a one as ſhe might eaſely snare his incontinēce with wanton allurementes, ſatiſfie his nede with money, & binde his aſſuritnes vnto hir with gilty cōſcience cōfederatit in miſchefis. These be the foūtaines of that ſame nat vnmeaſurable but mad loue, infamous adulterie, and vile parricide, quhairwith, as with a pledge, that bludy mariage quhas plightit. These thairfoir wer the cauſes of enterpriſing that haynous act, to wyte, vnappeaſable hatrit of hir huſband and vntemperabill luſt of hir aduoutrer. There was mairouir a hoipe, that the crime might be diuirtit from thaim to vther, and the execution for it might be layde vpon vpon the poore liues of thair enemies, and that men maiſt giltleſſe of the fault might be thruſt in thair place as ſacrifices to appeaſe the pepils diſpleaſure. If nat, quhairto then ſeruit that battaile almaiſt begun to be foughten betweene the kyng and Lord Robart hir brother? Quhairto tended thoſe ſeedis of diſ-

coyde scatterit betwene the kyng and the nobilitie? Quhairto reachit that curious entreatie to stay the Erle Murray wyth hir the day before the murder was committit? Or quhat cause was there to send for hym? There was an Embassadour come out of Sauoy. For quhat cause? Surely it behouit to be a great cause, and sic as coulde nat be ended without assembly of the nobilitie. No, God wote. The Embassadour of Sauoy, being bidden to late to the christening, came quhen all was ended, nat for ane Embassadour to the christening, but as ane sent to excuse the neglecting of doing that kindenesse, quhen baith he liked not to send sa farre for sa small a mattir, and he was somequhat aschamit to haif faylit in presence, quhen the Frenchmen and Inglishmen had alreby done it. For the maire honorabill dimissing of hym, the Earle Murray was sent for, and that with sondry messingers to cum from his wife that lay dying. Quhat nede was there then of his presence? to draw hym to be a partner in conspiracie of the slaughtir? Quhy was it neuer attemptit befoir? Thought thay it best, then at the last point, at the very instant quhen the murder shoulde be committit, to ioyne him to thair fellowschip, as a light man, inconstant, and shifting his purposis at euery moment

of

of tyme, infamous in his fonner life, and nat well assurit in his present staite? Sa there is none of these thingis that they yet dare say of hym; Sith then thay can nat imagine a false cause to stay hym, quhat was the trew cause in deid ech man may easily gather: euen the same that causit first the Earle of Athol, & afterwartis hym to depairt from the court: the same that sa oft brocht hym in dangir of deith: the same that had sclanderit hym wyth false rumors scaterit in Jngland: the same that prosecutit hym with infamous libelles of the murderers thamselfis: the same that made him to chuse raither to goe into banischment, than to remayne in court amang ruffians weapons with great perill of his life.

But quhat anapleth thys equitie of the cause befoir hearers eyther vtterly ignorãt of the mater how it was done, or of tham selfis disfauouring this pairt and enuyous, or apt to be caryit away with faynit rumors, quhilk esteme the sclanders of maist lewd slight persons, for sad testimonies, and geue credite to these men, quho boasting at home thas thay are able to do what that list, yit neither dare commit thayr cause to the sentence of the Judges, nor were abill to defend tham selfis in battaill. And as by giltie conscience of offensis thay feard

iugement: so by raige growen of thayr giltinesse thay runne hedlang to battail, and from battayll runne cowartly away: and now againe quhen standing vpon the aduantage that they haif baith in number and wealth, thay scorne the wisedome of thair aduersareis, and despise thair power in comparison of thair awin: yit distrusting to preuayle by trew manhoode, they fall to robbery, and turne thayr vngracious minde tormentit with inwart terrouris of giltie cōscience, to sclandering, cauillyng, & leising, quhom yet for the gude wil that I beir to my conterymē, I wald aduise to ceasse from thys folly, or fury, or disease of euill speiking, lest in time to come, quhen truth shall shine out, thay shut vp and stop with hatrit of thaim those persons eares to thayr petitiounis, quhom now thay fill and lode with false rumouris, for thare wyll nat alway be place for forgeuenes: but as darckines at the sunne shining, so lyes at the light of treuth must vanische away.

As for the commodious meanes for committing that vile fact, and the hoipe of hiding it, I neid nat to pursue the declaring of thaim in many wordis, sith baith the easinesse to do it, the opportuneis of placis, and all aduauncementis of occasiouns and seasons were in their owne power, And to hide the fact quhat

neidit

neidit thay, quhē thay fearit na punish-
ment gif it were publischit? For quhat
punischment cauld they feir in sa strang
a conspiracie? quhen baith the force of
lawes, quhairof tham selfis wer gouer-
nours, was vtterly extinguischit, and
the mindis of maist pairt of men weir
eyther snarit with partenerschip of the
mischieuous fact, or caryit wyth hoip,
or forestallit wyth rewardis, or discou-
ragit and bridelit wyth feare of sa greit
a power on the vther pairt? But how
sa euer thys be, yit schall it be gude to see
throughly baith the order of the duing,
the vnaduisidnes, inconstancie, and end
of thayr deuisis. For tharwithall schall
ye perceiue that thare wanted nat desire
to hyde the fact, but that the furor of a
distracted minde ouerthrew all the or-
der of thair coūsels, quhile some time as
desyrous to beguyle publike fame, thay
endeuourit to keip close thayr intendit
mischefe, yit thay dealt tharein sa opin-
ly, as gif careleſſe of thair estimatioun
thay seemit to make small accompte
howe men iudged of thayr duyngis.
For the poysoun at his preparyng to go
to Blasco was geuen hym secretly, and
thay thoght thay had sufficiently well
prouidit that he schould in hys absence
from tham be consumit with pynyng
sickneſſe. But the reſt of thair dealinges
towart hym wer sa cruelly handlit, that

though his diſeaſe ſhold haue happenit to be naturall, yet it wald haue ben ſuſpectit for poyſonyng. For he hir huſband, the father of hir onely and firſt borne childe, the father I ſay of that ſonne quhoes Chriſtenyng was ſolemniſit with ſa great pompe and glorie, beyng eſcapit away in maner nakit as it wer out of his houſe flamyng in fier, tormentit by the waye with greuous peine, quhē he lay at Glaſcow of a dangerous ſickneſſe likely to dye, quhat did hys excellent gude wife the quhile? Quhat dyd ſche? At the firſt newes of it dyd ſhe haſt to him in poſt? Doth ſche with her preſence, with hir freindly familiar ſpech, or with hir louyng countenance comfort hym in ſickneſſe? quhen ſhe can nat ſtay him in life, commeth ſhe to receiue his laſt breath? cloſeth ſhe hys eyes at his deyng? doth ſhe the vther kinde duties of honeſt matrones? No. But ſhe that had now let him eſcape to goe and dye, and hopit that he cauld not linger out hys vnhappy life but a few dayes langer, getteth hir a cleane contrary way into an vther contrey in progreſſe, and with hir faire Adonis ſhe viſiteth noble mens houſes, and ſtayneth the houſes that harborit them with the ſpottes of thair vnchaſtities, and iuſt about the tyme of hir huſbandes death (as ſhe geſſit by the ſtrength and worky-

kyng

kyng of the poysoun ) she returneth to Stereline. Quhen the mater wrought not sa fast as she lukit for & the strength of his youth had wrastlit with the sore-nesse of the peine, least she shold seme to haue altogether forsaken hir dutie, she daily prepareth to go to Glasco, but ne-uer goeth. At the last disapointit of the hope that she had conceiuit in hir hart, she taketh hir to vther deuises. She commeth to Edenburgh and there cal-leth to counsell hir aduoutrer and a few vther priue of those secrets. There thay decree that in any wise the kyng must be slayne. Yet wer thay nat fully aduisit with quhat kinde of death he should be murderit. Quhilk may easily be ga-therit by hir letter quhairin she partly compareth hir selfe with Medea a blu-dy woman and a poysoning witch. Al-swa by an vther of hir letters quharin she asketh aduise about the poysonyng him. The kyng quho had alredy tastit of hir louely cuppe, doutyng whether he wer better any mair to beleue hir flatte-ring speches, or to feare the shrewdnesse of hir nature, though sometime he de-speirit not of hir reconciliation, yet euer was somewhat mair feareful and suspi-cious. But quhen he saw that nouther his life nor his death wer in his power, he was constrainit in silence to purse vp his vastit iniuries, to dissemble hys pre-

sent feare, and to fayne him selfe some hope for tyme to come. Sa was he led out nat as a husband, but carried out as a corse, or rather drawen as it wer to the shambles. The Quene gloriously shewyng hir selfe in pompous maner goeth before in triumph ouer the yong gentleman vexit with all kynde of iniuries, tormentit with poyson, entrappit with treasons and drawen to execution. There followe after the triumphant carre, the auncient enemies to his fathers house, brought thether for the nonce, that thay alswa might fede thair eyes with that woefull spectacle, and quhoes death at hād thay lukit for, thay might in the meane tyme take pleasure of the sorow of his hart. And that na ceremonie of solemne sacrifices might be wāting, Jhon Hamilton Archbishop of of S. Androwes was present as thair priest, a man before defiled with all kind of wickitnesse, pāpered with the spoyles and murders of hys contreymen, ane auld conquerour of many murderyng victories. The pepill, all alang the way lukyng pitiously shewit a foreboding of na gude lucke to come. The Quenes companiōs, could nouther well enough faine thair sadnesse nor hide thair gladnesse, quhen the haynous outrage of the vile fact intēdit held thair vnmesurable ioy in some suspense vpon expectatiō of

the

the succesſe. Thus led they hȳ to Edē-
burgh, nat into the quenis palace. why
so? Least the infection of the peſtilent di-
ſeaſe forſoth might hurt hir yong ſonne:
as though thay that be poyſonit wer al-
swa to be ſhonned for feare of infection.
But the truer cauſe was this, least hys
preſence ſhould trouble tham, in inter-
ruptyng thair free enioyng thair plea-
ſures, and thair conſultations about his
murder. Quhether then is he led? into
the maiſt deſolate part of ȳ town, ſome-
time inhabitit quhile the popiſh prieſtes
kingdome laſtit, but for certayne yeares
paſt, without any dweller, in ſic a houſe
as of it ſelfe wald haſt fallen downe if it
had nat bene botched vp for the tyme to
ſerue the turne of this nightis ſacrifice.
Quhy was this place chiefly choſin?
they pretend the holeſomneſſe of ayre.
O good God. Going about to murder
hir husband, ſeeketh ſche for a holeſome
ayre? to quhat vſe? not to preſerue hys
life, but to reſerue his body to torment.
Hereto tend hir wifely diligent atten-
dance & hir laſt care of hir husbands life.
She feareth leaſt he ſhould by preuen-
ting death be deliuerit from peine, ſche
wald fayne haue him feele himſelfe dye.
But let vs ſee quhat maner of holeſom-
neſſe of ayre it is. Is it amang dead
mens graues to ſeeke the preſeruing of
life? For hard by there were the ruines

of twa Kirkes: on the East side a Mo-
nasterie of Dominike Friers: on the
west a Kirke of our Ladie, quhilke for
the desolatenes of the place is callit the
Kirke in the fielde: on the South side
the towne wal, and in the same for com-
modious passage euery way is a po-
sterne doze: on the North side are a few
beggers cotages, thē redy to fall, quhilk
sometime seruit for stewes for certayne
Priestes and Monkes, the name of
quhilke place doth plainely disclose the
forme and nature thereof, for it is com-
monly callit Theifis Lane. There is
neuer an vther house nere, but the Ha-
miltons house, quhilke is about a stonis
cast distant, and that also stoode voyde.
Thether remoueth the Archbyschop of
S. Andrewes, quho alway before was
wont to be lodgit in the maist populous
partes of the towne. He also watchit
all that night that the kyng was slayne.
Now I beseche you, sith you can nat
with your eyes, yet at the least with
your mindes behalde, a house quhilome
of auld Priests, amang grauis, betwene
the ruines of twa temples, it selfe also
ruinous, neere to the theefis haunt, & it
selfe a receiter of theefis, nat farre from
the fort and garrisoun of hys enemyes
that stoode right ouer against the doze,
by quhilke if any man should flye out, he
could nat escape thair traiterous em-
bush-

bushment. The very shape of this place quhen ye consider in your minde, quhen ye heare of the ruines of Kirkes, grauis of dead men, lurking corners of theefis, brothelhouses of harlotes, doth nat, I say, nat the house onely, but also euery paire neare about it seeme to proclaime mischiefe and trecherie? Semeth here a king to haue gone into ahouse for lodging, or to be thrust into a den of theefis? was not that desolate wastnesse, that vnhauntit place abil of it self to put simple men in feare, to make wiser men suspicious, & to geue naughty mē shrewd occasions? Quhat ment his enemyes vnwontit repayre into those pairtes, and watching all night in maner harde at hys gate? Quhy chose he now thys plaice for his lodging against hys former vsage? The house, ye will say, was empty, and his brothers house, and neare to the kynges lodging. It was empty long befoir, quhy lodgit you neuer there befoir? Quhy forsooke you the populous places in the hart of the citie, and nearenesse to the Court, and thrust your selfe in a desolate corner? quhat profite, quhat commoditie, quhat pleasure herein respectit you? was it your meaning that you beyng ane that euer had bene a gredy coueiter of popular fame, and catcher of courtiers wyth daytes of gude chere, now wald of your

awne accorde goe hide your selfe in a blynde hole out of all companie and resort? that you one raither ouerwhelmit than laden with plentie of benefices, went thether to delite your hart in the ruines of temples? But bee it that your comming thether was but by chaunce, and that you had some causes to goe thether, though nat trew, yet somequhat likely. Quhat meant your vnwontit watching all night? quhat meant the fearefull murmuring of your seruantis that night, quhom yet in that publike tumult you commaundit, nat ones to stirre out of dores? But quhat cause had they to goe out? was it to haif vnderstanding of the matter quhairof your selfe were an autor and deuiser? no, for out of your awne watch tower, you heard with your eares the noyse of the ruine, you saw the smoke and ashes with your eyes, you dranke vp the ioy thereof in your hart, and the sauor of the gunnepouder you in maner snuffed vp at your nose. Perhappes you meant to send out some to receiue thaim that fled. but you saw no man flee. And therefore the lightes that were seene out of the hyest part of your house all the night long, were, as vpon the lucky ending of the thing that you lookit for, euen then sodenly put out.

But let vs return to the King. They thought

thought it nat enough to haue set opin the posterne in the wall, to let in thiefis thereat, nor to haue set an ambush before the dore, that none shauld eschaipe, but alswa thay kept wyth thain selfis the kayis of twa doris, the one of the lower roome quhare thay had undermynit the wall, and fillit the holes with gunpowder, and the vther of the vpper roome, that the murderaris might come to the King in hys bed. Than of theis few seruauntis that he had, they withdrew the greiter number, beyng sic as wer before set about him nat sa mikle to do him seruice, as to be spyes of hys secretes, and cary newis to the Quene. The last that was lefte, one Saunder Dureame, quhen he could finde no reasonable excuse to depairt, was thrust out by the Quene her selfe. Sche in the meane time, meaning not to fayle in playing hyr pairt, quhile Bothwell is in preparing the tragical stage for the murder, dayly visiteth the King: hys heart passionit with loue sometime sche comforteth with sweete promisis, sometime sche vexeth with brawlinges, and styll kepeth his witte occupyit wyth suspitiounis, and rightly representith in action the Poetes fable, quharin is faynit, that Prometheus his liuer daily growing to suffice to new tormentes, is daily gnawin and tyerit vppon by an Egle.

For after the verray fain manner some-
time sche cherisheth and refreshith the
silly yong gentleman, to none vther end
but that he may haif lyfe remayning to
suffer moe sorowis.

Now I beseech you euery one thinke
with your selfis vpon the fresh doing of
the fact, how mens hartis were mouit,
quhen euin now theis thingis can not
be heard reportit without indignation.
There was proudit by the maist wickit
man in the warld, by hys enemie, by his
wiefis aduoutrer, a house in maner se-
uerit from all haunt of men, fitter for a
slaughter house, than for mans dwel-
ling: it is proudit for a yong gentil-
man, vnprouident by youth, easie to be
trappit in treasoun by loue, spoylit of
hys seruauntes, forsaken of hys frendis;
a house (I say) torne, solitarie, on euery
syde not onely nat close, but alswa opin
to passe through, the kayes therof in his
enemeis custodie, no man lefte within
but a yong man nat yit recouerit of sick-
nesse, and an auld man feble by age, and
swa strangeris vnacquaintit with the
places, matter, and persons, no man
dwelling neire but hys enemeis and
thiefis. But as for danger of thiefis the
gude forecasting woman had well pro-
uidit, for sche had left him na thing to
allure a thief withall: and as for hys e-
nemeis, sche had appointed tham to be

but

but lukers on, and nat pairtplayers in this tragedie: but the glorie of the fact sche reseruit to hyr self and Bothwell.

Quhat in the meane time doth the Quenes greit carefulnesse? quhat meaneth hir vnwontit resort? quhat hir malicious, and not obsequious diligence? Sche visiteth him daily, sche prolongith hir talke with hym many houris together, twa nightis sche resteth in a lower chamber vnder him, gif gyltie conscience of maist haynous duingis can from tormentis of furies suffer that outragious hart to rest at all. Sche feart perdie, lest if the lower place of the house were left emptie, the noyse of the vndermuners working, and of the bringers in of the powder, should bring some of the seruantes in some suspitioun of treachery. Besyde that sche had a minde to see the thing done her selfe rather then to commit it to the trust of any vther. Sche had a desire to take a foretast of the ioye to come, and quhen sche could nat wyth hir eares, yit at leist with hir hart to conceiue aforehand the fyre, the smoke, the powder, the cracke of the house falling, the fearefull troubill, the tumulte, the confuse dismayednesse of the doers, the thiefis, and the pepill. All thingis thus preparit for that dolefull night, then entreth sche into the last care of hir gude fame; sche endeuourith to diuert all su-

ſpitionnis from hir, ſche goeth to hir
huſband, ſche kiſſeth him, ſche geueth
him a ring for pledge of hir loue, ſche
talketh with him mair louingly then ſhe
was wont to do, and promiſeth mair
largelie, ſche faynith that ſche hath greit
care of his health, and yit her compani-
eng with hir adulter ſche ſurceaſeth nat.

Thay that mair nerely notit theſe
thyngis, prognoſticatit na gude thyng
to come. For how mekle the greater to-
kens that the Quene ſhewit of reconci-
lit affectioun, ſo mekle the mair cruelti
dyd euery man in his hart foreconceiue
of all hir intentions. For els quhenſe
commeth that ſodein chaunge? Quhenſe
commeth ſa great a care for hym quhom
ſhe had poyſonit but the moneth befoir,
quhom euin lately ſche nat onely wiſhit
dead but alſwa deſirit to ſee hym dye,
quhoes death ſche ſet hir brother, yea
baith hir brethren, to procure, and ſche
like a mayſter of miſchef thruſt forth the
kyng to fight, and hir ſelfe in the meane
tyme preparit for his buriall? Not paſt a
few monethes befoir, ſche hir ſelfe was
deſirous to dye, bycauſe ſhe lothed to ſee
the kung alyue. Quhenſe commeth now
this ſodeine care for his health? I luke
ſhe ſhold ſay ſhe was reconcilit to him.
were you reconcilit to your huſband,
quhom you ſent away into ỳ deſert, that
camp of furies as the Poet calleth it? for
quhom

quhom among brothellhouses of harlottes, among beggers cotages, among theifes lurkyng holes, you preparit a house sa open to passe throughe that you left therin mair entries then men to shut them? you that allurit and assemblit ruffians to his slaughter, and theifes to his spoyle? you that droue away hys seruantes that shold haue defendit his life? you that thrust hym out nakit, alone, vnarmit, among theifes to be slayne? quhen in all this miserable state of your husband, your adulterer in the meane tyme dwelt in your palace, dayly hauntit your chamber, day & night all doores wer open for hym, quhile your poore husband barred from al companie of the nobilitie, his seruants forbiddē to come at hym or sent away from him, was forsaken and thrust away into solitarie desert for a mockyng stocke, and I wald to God it had ben for a mockyng stocke onely? Of his vther seruantes I enquire nat. I do nat curiously question why thay went away, why thay then specially forsoke the kyng, quhen he chefely neded thair helpe and seruice, quhen he was newly recouerit, quhen he began to go abrode and had none vther companie. Of Sawnder Duram I can nat kepe silence, quhom you had for his keper and your spie. Quhat was there for hym to espie? was there any

thyng for him to bryng newes of to an honest matrone, louyng to hir husband, faithfull in wedlocke, and fearefull of a partener of his loue? Feard she least he a yongman, beautifull, and a king, shold cast wanton eyes vpon some vther woman in her absence? Na God wot. For that was it that she maist desired. For sche hir selfe had practisit to allure him thereto befoir, she hir self had offrit hym the occasions, and of hir selfe shewit him the meanes. This was it that most grenit hir quhile she was sekyng causes of diuorce, that she could nat finde in hym sa mekle as any sclender suspicioun of adulterie. why then were spies set about hym to watch him? was it not that none of the nobilitie, none of his seruantes, nor any stranger at all should come at hym, that na man should speake with him that might disclose the treason and warne hym of his daunger? This same very Sawnder how carefully sche saueth, quhen she goeth about to kill hir husbande? how late sche sendeth hym away quhen the reste were gone, euen at the very point of hir husbandes death, quhen she had now na mair nede of espialles? For the day befoir the murder committit, there was none of the ministers that were priuie of hir secret counsels left behinde but onely Sawnder. He quhen he saw that night no lesse

doie-

dolefull then shamefull to approche, pre-
pareth, as hymselfe thought, a fine suttle
excuse to be absent, so as rather chaunce
might seme to haue driuen him out, then
he him selfe willingly to haue forsaken
his maister. He putteth fire in his awne
bedstraw, and quhen the flame spred
further, he made an outcrie, & threw his
beddyng halfe singit out of the kyngis
chamber. But the next day quhen that
excuse seruit nat sa handsomly as he de-
sirit, for that in the Quenis hearyng, the
kyng very swetely entreatit him nat to
leaue him alone that night, and alswa
desirit him to lye with him selfe, as he
had often vsit to do, for the kyng entier-
ly louit hym aboue all the rest, Saw-
der in perplexitie wanting quhat to an-
swere, addit to his first excuse feare of
sickneſſe, and pretendit, that for commo-
dious takyng of phisike for his health he
wald lye in the town. Quhen this wald
nat yet serue him, the Quene addit hir
authoritie and told the kyng that he dyd
nat wel to kepe the yongman with him
against the order of his health, and ther-
with sche turnit to Saunder, & bad him
goe quhair was best for hym: and forth-
with as sone as the word was spokē he
went his way. I will nat here precisely
trace out all the footynges of the wichis
doynges. Nouther will I curiously en-
quire, whether that former dayes fier
wer happenit by caluaitie or kindlit by
fraude

fraude. Neither will I aske why he that had sa oft ben receiuit to lye in ȳ kyngis awn bed, doth now this only night specially refuse it. Let vs suppose that sicknes was ȳ cause therof. This onely ane thing I aske, quhat kinde of sickenes it was, that came vpō him at the very instant, & befoir morning left him agayne without any phisitions helpe, and quhairof neither afoir, nor since, nor at that present, there neuer appearit any token? And I trust, though he hold his peace, ye all sufficiently vnderstand it. In the man gilty in conscience of the mischeuous intentioun, feare of death ouercame regard of dutie. Had it nat bene that Saunder, befoir time a spie & talebearer, now a forsaker and betrayer of his maister, was ioynit to hir in priuitie of all these wickit doinges, wald nat the Quene sa cruell in all the rest, haue founde in hir hart to bestow that ane sacrifice vpon hir husbandis funerallis? Quhile these thyngis were in doing, the night was farre past, & my Lady Rercle a lusty valiant soldiar, befoir signe geuen cummeth forth into the field out of array, abroad iche goeth, getteth hir to Horsebacke, and though sche were somewhat afrayd, as ane that foreknew of the stonne to cum, yit sche sate still on horsebacke tarying for the Quene, but yit a gude pretie way from the houle. In the meane tyme Paris

cum=

cummeth, & then the communicatioun
brake, and they rose to depart. For by
and by vpon sight of him came to hir re-
membrance that haynous offence that
without great propitiations coulde nat
be purgit, forsoth that the Quene had
nat dauncit at the wedding feast of Se-
bastian the minstrell and vile iester, that
sche sate by hir husband quho had nat yit
fully recouerit his health, that at the
banquet of hir domesticall parasite sche
had nat played the dauncing skit. A
matter surely worthy of excuse. But
quhat should she els do? sche must nedes
goe as sone as sche saw Paris, for sa it
was agreit, and somequhatmust neides
be pretendit. How happenit it that the
vther nightis befoir quhen sche went a-
way earlyer, sche made na excuse at all,
and now hir departure about midnight
must nedes haif an excuse allegit? But
be it sa. Coulde sche remember na bet-
ter excuse than Sebastians wedding?
No no, I say to the contrary that if sche
had left the wedding of hir awne natu-
rall brother, or hir sister, to visite hir
husband though but a little crased, sche
had had a iust excuse befoir all men sa to
do. Quhat if sche had done the same
kindnes for the kyng being nat hir hus-
band, or for any vther of the nobilitie:
Is Sebastians wedding of sic a value,
that a maisking dauncc thereat is to be

preferrit befoir wincly dutie and lone: But surely in this curious excusing and pretendit sorrow of neglectit dutie, ioneqnhat lieth hidden, and yit nat sa hidden but that it appeareth throngh the closure. This ourmickle precisnes of diligēce, in excusing quhair na nede is, hath some suspicioun of some secrit mischiefe that you are loth to haue disclosit, and the slightnesse of the excuse, encreaseth the suspicioun, specially quhē there were vther matters enow that she inight better haue allegit. But let vs admit ȳ excuse, sith ȳ quene hir self hath thought it reasonabill. Quhether then goeth she? streight into hir chamber. Quhat doth she next? worȳit wyth the dayes trauaill and the nights watching goeth she to bed? no, but she falleth to talking with Bothwell first almaist alone, and afterwart alone altogether. Quhat talke she had, ȳ matter it self declareth. For Bothwell after that he had put of his clothes as if he wald haue gone to bed, byandby putteth on vther apparell. Going to do the deid, he wald nat be knawen. I like well the mās policie. But his way was to goe through the watch. Here I marueil at hys madnesse. But mens wittes beset with grimnesse of mischiefis, do commonly bewray thaimselfis by their awne inconstancie, and blinde to all vther

thingis

thingis, do see onely that quhilk thay haue bent thair mynde vnto. Quhat he did, the kingis deith, hys awne running away, the confessioun of the guilty personis, & vther thingis that folowit the murder, do declaire. After the great bruyte in the towne about it, he as ane vtterly ignorant of all, returneth thorough the saime watch to bed. Quhen noyse of the ruine had fillit all mens eares, and the cracke of it had shaken all the houses, onely the Quene intentive to expectatioun of the chaunce and bissie awake, heareth nathyng at all, and Bothwell heareth nathyng. O marueilous deithesse! All vther thorough out the towne, as many as were awake were affrayit, and as many as slept wer awaikit. At the last Bothwell ryseth agayne, and in one self enterlude soderly shifting his part from the Poet becometh a messenger, he runneth to ye Quene, and thether resort alswa vther that lodgit in the palace. To some the matter seemit true, to some fayrie, to some marueilous. Quhat dooth the Quene the quhiles? Quhat should sche do? She temperately brooketh hir gude lucke, sche reasteth sweetly till the next day at noone. Yit the day folowing, to obserue decorum and comely conuenience in hir paire without marring the play, sche counterfeiteth a mourning,

quhilke yit neyther hir ioyfulnes dwelling withall in hart suffreth lang to be saynit, nor schaime permitteth to be quholy neglectit. Theis thingis thus lying opin befoir your eyes, thus palpable with handis, thus fast empryntis in mens earis and knowledge, staude we yit in enquiring for the author of the murder, as though it were doubtfull? But ye say, the Quene denyith it: what denyith sche? Forsooth that sche did the murder: as though there were sa great a difference if ye be the author or the executor, gif ye commaund it or commit it. Sche gaue hir counsell, hir furtherance, hir power and anthoritie to the duing of it. Neither is the cause vnknawin quhy sche did it, euin that the saim filthy mariage with Bothwell might be accomplisshit. Though all which argumentis and sa many witnessis of thaime that wer privie to it saylit, yit by hir awin testimonie, by hir awin letters it must needis be confessit. And though all vther thingis wantit, these thingis that folowit the murder do plainly declare the doer, namely, that at ȳ slaughter of hir husband she sorrowit nat, but quietly restit as after a gay enterprise well atchieuit: that sche mourait nat, but in maner openly ioyed: that sche could abide not onely to luke vpon his dead body, but allwa gredely beheld it:

that

that sche secretly in the night buryit him without funerall pompe, or rather hid him like a thief: for that same so inconstant counterfeiting of mourning did plainly bewray it selfe. For quhat ment that remouing to Setons: quhy shonned sche the townis resort and peoples eyes? was it because sche was aschamit to mourne openly? or because sche could nat wel cloke hir ioy? or secretly to giue hir self all to sorow? No, for at Setons sche threw away all hir disguisit personage of mourning, sche went daily into the fieldes among ruffians, and nat only resortit to hir former custome, but alswa affectit to exercise manly pastimes, and that among men and openly. So lightly sche despisit the opinioun and speich of her countrey. But I beshrew that same Kiligree, and that saim Monsieur de Croc, that came vpon hir sa vnseasonably, and schewit to vther hyr counterfeited person vnuisorie. For, had not they bene, many thingis that were done might haif bene denyit, many thingis might haif bene handsomely saynit, and mikle the matter might haif bene holpen by forgit rumouris.

But they will say thare was a solemn enquirie for the murder. Forsooth by Bothwell him selfe principally, and by some vther that than laboured, and yit at this day do labour to deliuer the per-

sons gilrie thereof, from punischement of law, and do now plainly shew quhat they than secretly meant. But wyth quhat diligence, with quhat vpright securitie was that enquirie handlit? A few poore saules the nexte dwelling neighbouris to the Kingis lodging being callit, neither durst tell quhat thay has seene and heard, and gif thay touchit any thing neir the matter, eyther they wer with feare put to silence, or dispisit as of na credite: the wiser sort of them durst not offende Bothwell that sate among the Judges. Ane or twa of the Kingis seruants that eschapit the mischaunce, wer examinit quhilk way the murderaris came in. Forsoth, sayit thay, we had not the kayes. Quho then had them? It was annswerit that the Quene had them. So began the secrets of the Court to breake out. Then was ye enquirie adiornit, & neuer recontinuit. Quhat can be more seuere and vpright then this enquirie? & yit they preuailit nathing by it. For quhat the examiners wald haif had kept secret, that the pepill cryit out opinly: that quhilk they suppressit, bursteth forth: that quhilk they cloke in secreit, breaketh out into broad light. But there was a proclamation set forth, with pardon of the fact and promise of rewart to him that wald tell it. Why? quho had ben sa mad, that he durst in sa

ma-

manifest perill of his life beare witnesse or geue information agaynst the iudges tham selues in quhoes power lay hys lyfe and his death? It was likely forsothe, that they quhilk had murderit a kyng, wald spare him that shold disclose ỳ murderer, specially quhen all men saw that the enquirie of the kingis slaughter was quite omittit, and the vther enquirie seuerely pursuit concernyng bukes accusing the slaughter. What maner of iugement it was quhairby Bothwell was acquitit, you haue heard. Forsothe by hym selfe procurit, the iudges by him selfe chosen, the accusers by him self suborнit, lawfull accusers forbidden to be present vnlesse thay wald yeld thair throtes to thair enemies weapons: the assise apointit nouther to a day accordyng to the law of the land, nor after the maner of the contrey, nor to enquire of the murder of the kyng, but of sic a murder as was allegit to be committit the day befoir that the king was slayne. Here quhen Bothwell by his frendship and power, and the Quene by prayer & threatenings trauailit with the iudges, do you now expect quhat sentence men chosen agaynst law, and agaynst the custome of the land haue pronounced? In thair iugement thay touchit the mater nathyng at all; onely this thay haue declarit, that it was na lawfull iugement,

in this that with ane speciall protestatioun thay prouidit, that it should nat be preiudiciall to thaim in tyme to come.

Then, that all men might vnderstand what it was that thay sought by sword, fire, and poisoun, thay iumble vp mariages: one is diuorcit, an vther is couplit, and that in sic posting spede as thay might scant haue hastit to furnish a triumph of some noble victorie. Yet that in those vnlawfull weddinges, some shew of lawfull order might be obseruit, the gudely banes were openly proclamit. For publishyng whereof though the Minister of the Kirk were thretenit with death if he did it not, yet at the tyme of his publishyng, hym selfe openly protested that he knew cause of exceptioun why that mariage was nat lawful. But in sic a multitude assemblit, how few wer thay that knew it nat? sith all could well remember that Bothwell had then alyue twa wines alredy not yet diuorcit, and the thyrd nouther lawfully marist nor orderly diuorcit. But that was nat it that was intendit, to obserue the ceremonies of lawful order, but (as thay vse to do in enterludes) thay prouidit a certain shew or disguisit counterfayting of commoun vsage. For he that hath oft broken all humane lawes, and hath cast away all conscience and religion, could easily neglect the course of Gods law.

Now

Now I suppose I haue brefely declarit (in respect of the greatnesse of the mater) and yet perhaps in mair wordes then nedit (the playnesse of the proues considerit) of quhat purpose, by quhat counsell, and vpon quhat hope, that hainous murder was attēptit, with what crueltie it was executit, by quhat tokens, aduertisements, testimonies, and letters of the Quene hir selfe the whole mater is prouit, and sa plainly prouit, that it may be as openly seene as if it lay befoir your eyes: yet will I shew fourth the testimonie of the hale pepill, quhilk I thinke worthy nat to be neglectit. For seuerall men do commounly deceiue & ar deceiuit by vther, but na mā deceiueth all men, nor is deceiuit by all. This testimonie of the pepill is this. Quhen at the Quenis going abrode amang the pepill, the greatest pairt of the commōs were wont to make acclamations, wishing hir well and happily with sic speches as either luif enforceth or flatterie inuenteth: now at hir going after the kingis slaughter to the castell throughe the chiefe and maist populous strete of the towne, there was all the way a sad glūming silence. And quhen ane woman alone of the multitude had cryit God saue the Quene, an vther by and by sa cryit out as all men might heare hir, Sa be it to euery ane as thay haif deseruit.

Albeit theſe thingis were thus done as I haue declairit, yet there are ſome that ſtick nat to ſay that the Quene was nat onely hardly but alſo cruelly dealt with, that after ſa deteſtabill a fact ſche was remouit from regiment: and quhen thay cānat deny the fact, thay complaine of the punishment. I do nat thynke there will be any man ſa ſchameleſſe to thinke that ſa horribill a fact ought to haue na punishment at all. But if thay complayne of the greuouſneſſe of the penaltie, I feare leaſt to all gude men we may ſeeme nat to haue done ſa gently & temperately as looſely and negligently, that haue layde ſa light a peine vpon an offence ſa hainous and ſic as was neuer heard of beforr. For quhat can be done cruelly againſt the author of ſa outragious a deid, quhairin all lawes of God and man are violate, deſpiſit, & in maner wholy extinguiſhit? Euery ſeuerall offence hath his punishment haith by God and man appointit: and as there be certaine degreis of euill deides, ſa are there alſo encreaſes in the quantities of punishmentis. If one haue killit a mā, it is a deid of it ſelf very haynous. Quhat if he haue killit his familiar frend? quhat if his father? quhat if in one fowle fact he hath ioynit all theſe offences togither? Surely of ſic a ane, neyther can his life ſuffice for impoſing, nor

hys

hys body for bearing, nor the Judges policie for inuenting payne enough for him. Quhilke of theis faultes is nat cõprisit in thys offence? I omit the meane commoun matters, the murdering of a young gentleman, an innocent, hir coũtriman, hir kinsman, hir familiar, and hir cousin germane. Let vs also excuse the fact if it be possible. She vnaduisitly, a youngwoman, angry, offendit, and ane of great innocencie of lyfe tyll this time, hath slaine a lewde youngman, an adulter, an vnkinde husband & a cruel king. If nat any ane, but all theis respectes together, were in this matter, they ought nat to auaile to shift of all punishment, but to rayse some pitie of the case. But quhat say you that none of theis thingis can sa mickle as be falsly pretendit? The fact it selfe, of it selfe is odious: in a womã, it is monstrous: in a wife nat onely excessiuely louit, but also maist zelously honorit, it is vncredibill: and beyng cõmittit againſt hym quhoes age crauit pardon, quhoes harty affectioun requirit loue, quhose nighnesse of kinrit askit reuerence, quhose innocencie might haif deseruit fauour, vpon that youngman I say, in quhom there is nat sa mickle as allegit any iust cause of offence, thus to execute and spend, yea to exceede all tormẽtis due to all offencis,

in quhat degree of crueltie shall we accompt it? But let theis thingis auayle in vther personis to rayse hairtit, to bring punishment, and to make examples to posteritie. But in this cais let vs beare mickle wyth hir youth, mickle with hir nobilitie, mickle with the name of a Prince. As for myne awne pait I am nat ane that thinke it alway gude to vse extreme strictnesse of lawe, na nat in priuate, meane, & commoun personis. But in a maist hainous misdeed, to dissolue all force of law, and quhair is na measure of ill doing, there to descend beneath all measure in punishing, were the way to the vndoing of all lawes, & the ouerthrow of all humaine societie. But in this ane horribill act is sic a hochepot of all abhominabill doingis, sic an egernesse of all outragious cruelitie, sic a forgetfulnesse of all naturall affectioun, as nathing mair can be faynit or imaginit. I omit all former matters. I will nat curiously enquire vpon princis doingis, I will nat wey thaim by the cõmoun beame. I will nat restraine thaim to commoun degreis of duties. If there be any thing that without great offence may be passit ouer, I will gladly leaue it vnspoken of. If there be any thing that may receiue excuse, either by respect of age, or of womankinde, yea or of vnadwisitnes, I will nat vrge it.

And

And to passe ouer all the rest, twa haynous offences there be, that neither according to thair greatnes be fully expressit, nor according to thair outrage be sufficiently punischit, I meane the violating of matrimonie, and of Royall maiestie. For matrimonie (as the Apostle sayth) doth truely cõteine a great misterie. For as being obseruit, it compriseth within it all inferior kindes of duties, sa being broken it ouerthroweth thaim all. Quho so hath misusit his father, semeth to haue cast out of hys hart all naturall reuerence: but for the husbandis sake, ane shall leaue baith father and mother. Of all vther duties the degreis or like obseruancis, either are nat at all in brute creaturis, or nat sa playne to be discernit: but of matrimoniall loue there is almaist na liuing creature that hath nat some feling. This misterie therefoir quho so nat anely violateth, but also despiseth, he doth nat ouerthrow all the foundations of humayne fellowschip, but as mickle as in him lyeth, dissolueth and confoundeth all order of nature. Quhosoeuer, I do nat say hurteth the king that is the true image of God in earth, but slayeth hym wyth strange and vnwontit sort of crueltie, sa as the vntemperãt and vncredibill outragiousnes is nat contentit with simple torment, semeth he nat, as mickle as in

him lyeth, to haue a desire to pull God out of heauen? Quhat refuge haue thay then left themselfis to mercie that in satisfying their lust of vniust hatrit haif exedit not only all measure of cruelty but also all likelihode that it can be credible?

But they will say, we ought to beare with and spare hyr nobilitie, dignitie, and aige. Be it sa, gif sche haif sparit him in quhom all theis respectes were greiter, or at leist egall. Let the maiestie of royall name anayle hir. How mikle it ought to anayle to hyr preserving, hyr selfe hath shewit the example. May we commit our safetie to hyr quho a sister hath butcherly slaughterit hyr brother, a wief her husband, a Quene her King? May we committe our safetie to hyr, quhome neuer shame restraynit from vnchastitie, womankinde from cruelty, nor religion from impietie? Schall we beare with hyr age, sexe, and vnadvisednesse, that without all iust causis of hatreit, despisit all theis thingis in hyr kinsman, hir King, hyr husband? Sche that hath sought sic executioun of hyr wrongfull wrath, quhat shall we thinke sche will do being prouoked by reproches to men nat knit to hyr by kindred, subiect to hyr pleasure, not matchit with hyr in egall fellowschip of lyfe, but yeldit to hyr gouernance, and thrall to hyr tormenting cruelties quhen rage for in-

terrup-

cerrupting hyr pleasure, and outrage of nature strengthenit with armour of licentious power, shall ragingly triumph vpon the goods and blude of pooze subiectis? Quhat is then the fault quhereof we are accusit? quhat crueltie haif we shewit? That a woman raging without measure and modestie, and abusing to all hyr subiectis distructioun the force of hyr power that sche had receyued for theyr safety, we haif kept vnder gouernance of her kinsmen and well willing frendes: and quhom by right we might for hyr haynous deides haif executit, hir we haif touchit with na vther punischment, but onely restraynit hyr from doing mair mischief. For we deprive hyr nat of libertie, but of vnbridelit licentiousnes of euil doing. Quherin we mair feare among all gude men the blame of too mikle lenitie, than among euill men the sclander of crueltie.

These were the causis that mouit the Quene to thys mater. Bothwell also had hys reasons, quhilk nat a litle troublit hys mynde. For quhen that same infamous acquitall rather encreasit than abatit the suspicioun, and the matter coulde nat be alway kept

close, he fleeth to his last refuge, to obteyne of the quene a pardon of all hys offences. But quhen by the lawe of the land in sic charters of pardon, the greatest offence must be expressely mentionit, and the rest it sufficit to include in general wordes: and expresselly to confesse, the murder of the kyng semit to stand neyther wyth hys honor nor wyth his safetie: he was driuen of necessitie eyther to inuent or commit some vther crime, eyther maire greuous, or at ȳ least as haynous, vnder quhilk the slaughter of ȳ kyng might lurke in shadow of generall wordes vnexpressit. They could deuise none vther but the same counterfait rauishment of the Quene, quhairby baith the Quene prouidit for enioying hir pleasure and Bothwell for hys safetie.

MEmorandum that in the caſtel of Edenburgh there was left by the Erle Bothwell beſoir his fleing away, and was ſent for by one George Dagliſh his ſeruant, quho was taken by the Erle Worcetor, one ſmall gilt cofer nat fully ane foote lang, beyng garniſhit in ſondry places with the Romaine letter F vnder ane kyngis crowne, quhairin were certaine letters and writynges well knawin, and by othes to be affirmit, to haue bēn written with the quene of Scottes awne hand to the Erle Bothwell.

Beſide thoſe writynges there was alſwa extant a writyng written in Romane hand in French, to be auowit to be writtē by the ſayd quene of Scottes hir ſelf, beyng a promiſe of mariage to the ſayd Bothwell: quhilk writyng beyng without date, and though ſome wordes therein ſeme to the contrary, yet is vpon credible groūdes ſuppoſed to haue been made and written by hir beſoir the death of hir huſband, the tenor quhairof thus begynneth.

Nous Marie par la grace de Dieu. &c.

There is also ane vther writyng in Scottish auowit to be quholly writ-ten by the Erle of Huntley, datit the v. of Aprill. 1567. conteyning ane forme of contract for mariage betwixt the sayd quene and Erle Bothwell, subscribit Marie, quhilk is to be auowit to be the proper hād of the sayd quene, and vnderneth it Iames Erle Bothwel, quhilk alswa is to be auowit to be the proper hand of the said Erle Bothwell, at quhilk tyme he was commonly defamit of the kyngis slaughter and nat cleanst or acquitit therof befoir the xy. of Aprill followyng. The tenor of quhilk contract here ensueth.

AT Seyton the v. day of Aprill, the yere of God. 1567. The richt excellent, richt high & mighty Princesse Mary, by the grace of God Quene of Scottis, cōsidering the place & estait quharin almighty God hes constitute hir highnes, And how by the decesse of the king hir husband, hir Maiestie is now destytute of ane husbād, liuyng solitary in the staite of widohede. In the quhilk kinde of life hyr maiestie maist willingly wald coit-

continue, gif the weill of hir realme and subiectis wald permit it. But on the vther pairt considering the incõueniencis may follow, and the necessitie quhilk the realme hes that hir Maiestie be couplit with ane husband, hir highnes hes inclynit to marry. And seyng quhat incommoditie may cum to this realme, incace hir Maiestie should ioyne in mariage with any forein prince of a strange nationn, hir highnes hes thoght rather better to yelde vnto ane of hir awin subiectis. Amangis quhome hir Maiestie findis nane maire able nor indued wyth better qualities than the right noble & hir deare cousing James Earle Bothwell. &c. Of quhais thankfull and trew seruice hir highnes in all tymes bypast hes had large pruif and infallible experience. And seing not onely the same gude mynde constãtly perseuering in him, but with that ane inward affectionn & harty luif towardes hir Maiestie, hir highnes amangis the rest hes maid hir choyse of hym. And thairfore in the presence of the eternall God faithfully and in the word of ane Prince by these presentis takes the sayd James Erle Bothwell as hir lauchfull husband. And promittes and obliſſis hir highnes, that how sone the processe of diuorce intentit betuix the sayd Erle Bothwell and Dame Jane Gordon now hys pretenſit spouse beis

endit by the ordor of the lawis, hir Maiestie sall Godwilling thairefter schortly marry and take the sayd Erle to hir husband, and compleit the band of matrimony wyth hym in face of haly kirk. And sall neuer marry none vther husband but he onely during his life time. And as hir Maiestie of hir gracious humanitie and proper motiue without deseruing of the sayd Erle hes thus inclynit hir fauor and affectioun towardes hym, he humbly & reuerently acknawledging ȳ same accordíng to his bounde dewtie, and being as free and able to make promise of mariage, in respect of the sayd processe of diuorce intentit for diuerse reasonable causes, and that hys sayd pretenslit spouse hes thairunto consentit, he presently takes hir Maiestie as his lauchfull spouse in the presence of God. And promittis and obliſſis hym as he will answere to God and vpon his fidelitie and honor, that in all diligence possible he sall prosecute & setforwart the sayd processe of diuorce alredy begon and intentit betuix hym and the sayd Dame Jane Gordon hys pretenslit spouse vnto the finall end of ane decreit and declarator thairin. And incontinent thairefter at hir Maiesties gude wyll and pleasure, and quhen hir highnes thinkes conuenient sall complent and solemnizat in face of haly kirk the sayde

Item to the Duke of Norfolke. &c.

band

band of matrimony with hir Maiestie, and luik, honor, and serue hir highnes, according to the place and honor that it hes plealit hir Maiestie to accept hym vnto, And neuer to haue any vther for hys wife during hir Maiesties life time. In fayth and witnessing quhairof hir hyghnes & the sayd Erle hes subscribit this present faithfull promise with thair handes as followis, day, yeare & place foirsaidis, befoir these witnes, George Erle of Huntlie, and Maister Thomas Hepburne Parsoun of Auldhāstock. &c. *Sic subscribitur*. Marie R. Iames Erle Bothwell.

Here note that this contract was made the v. of April within viij. wekes after the murder of the kyng quhilke was slayne the x. of the Februarie befoir. Also it was made vij. dayes befoir that Bothwel was acquitit by corrupt iugement of the sayd murder.

Alswa it appereth by the wordes of the contract it selfe that it was made befoir sentence of diuorce betwene Bothwell and his former wife. And alswa in very truth was made befoir any sute of diuorce intentit or begon betwene hym and his former wyfe, though some wordes in this contract

seme to say vtherwise. Quhilk is thus proued. For this contract is datit the v. of Aprill, and it playnly appereth by the iudiciall actes befoir the twa seuerall ecclesiasticall ordinarie iudges, quhairin is contained the hale processe of the diuorce betwene the sayd Erle and Dame Jane Gourdon hys wyfe that the one of the same processes was intentit and begon the xxvi. day of Aprill, and the vther the xxvij.

Alswa there be extant the recordes of the Justice court holden at Edenburgh the sayd xj. day of Aprill, some copies quhairof haue ben crampitfijt and signit with the hand of John Bellenden Justice clerke, among quhilk is the dittay or enditement of Bothwell. The tenour of quhilke recordes with the assise and verdit doe here followe.

*Curia Iusticiariæ S. D. N. Reginæ; tenta & inchoata in pratorio de Edinburgh duodecimo die mensis Aprilis, An. 1567. per nobilem & potentem Dominum Archibaldum Comitem Ergadiæ, Dominũ Campbell & Lorne Iusticiarium generalem eiusdem S. D. N. Reginæ, totius Regni sui; videlicet constitutum Sen. vocatum & curia legitimè affirmata.*

IN the quhilke Court comperit personallie in iugement Maisteris Johne Spens of Condie, and Robert Creychton of Chok, aduocates to our soueraigne Lady in hir name, and thare the said maister John Spens producit our soueraigne Ladies letter execute and indorsit, togider with the dittay. Of the quhilk letters, indorsing thairof, and Dittay, the tennouris hereafter followith, that is to say: Mary by the grace of God Quene of Scottis to our louittis William Purwes, maister William Lawson, Gawine Ramsey messengeris, our Shirifis in that pairt coniunctly and seuerally specially constitute, greeting. Forasmikle as it is humbly meant and schewin to vs by our louittis, familiar clarkis, and Counsellors, maisteris Johne Spens of Condye, and Robert Creychton of Chok our aduocatis: ỳ quhareas thay are informit our trusty cousen and counsaillor Mathew Erle of Leuenox fader to the King our deirest spouse hes delatit Jamis Erle Bothwell, Lorde Hailis and Creychton &c. and certaine vthers of the treasonabill, cruell, odious, and abhominable slauchter and murder of his grace, committit vpon the nynth day of February last bipast,

vnder silence of the nicht within his lodging for the time within our bour of Edinburgh, beside the kirke of fielde vpon prouisioun, set purpose, and forethought fellony. And hes declarit vnto vs the suspicioun had of the sayd Erle and vtheris as committers of the sayd odious, cruale and abhominable deid. Quharethrough we being maist earnestly bent, mindit, and willing to haue tryall taken therein by order of iustice with all diligence and expedition possible, hes with aduise of the Lordes of our secret counsill, and also of the humble desire of the sayd Erle Bothwell made in our and thair presence, quhilk offerit him selfe redy to vnderly the tryall of ane condigne assise, according to the lawes of our realme for declaring of thys part hes, ordainit ane court of Justiciarie, to be set & haldin in the tolbuith of Edinbrough, the xij. day of Aprill next to come, for duing of iustice vpon the sayd Erle, and vtheris, for the sayd crewale, odious. foule, and abhominabill crime and offence: like as it at mair length is contenit in ane act maid in the bukes of our secrete counsell thairupon.

Oure will is therefoir, and we charge you straictly and commaund that incontinent these our letters seene, ye passe, and in our name and authority, warne the said Mathew erle of Lenenox personally, or at hys dwelling place, & all vthers our lieges hauand or pretēdand to haue intres in the said matter, by open proclamation at ȳ market crosses of our burrowis of Edenbur, Dunbertane, Glasgw, Lanerk, & vtheris places needfull, to compeir befoyr our Justice, or hys deputis in our tolbuith of Edinburgh, the sayd xij. day of Aprill next to come, to pursew and concurre with vs in the sayd actioun: with certificatioun to thame, and they fayle,

that

that our Iustice or his deputteis will proceed and do iustice in the sayd matter the sayd day, conforme to the lawis and consuetude of our realme, without any longer delay or continuatioun: And that ye summond ane assises heirto, ilk person vnder the payne of fourty pounds, as ye will answer to vs therupon. The quhilk to do we commit to you comunctly and seueraly our full power by these our letters, deliuerung thame by you duely execute and indorsate againe to the bearer. Geuin vnder our signet at Edenburgh, the xxvij. day of March, and of our reigne the xxv. yeire. 1567.

*Ex deliberatione Dominorum Consilij Reg.*

Sic subscribitur, *Mary.*

## *Indorsations of the sayd letters.*

VPon the xxix. day of March, the yeir of God, 1567. yeires, I Williame Purwes Messenger, one of the shirffes in that parte within constitute, past at commaund of theis our souerane Ladies letters, and in hyr graces name and auctheritie warnit Mathew Erle of Leuenor, and all vtheris hyr maiesteis liegis hauand or pretendand to haue intres in the matter within specifyit by open proclamatioun at the marcket crosse of the burowgh of Edinburgh, to compeir befoyr the Iustice or hys deputes in the tolbuith of Edinburgh the vij. day of Iyrill next to come, to pursew and concur with our sayd souerane Lady in the actioun within expremit, with certification as is within mentionat, efter the forme and tenour of these letters, quhairof I affixt ane copy vpoun the sayd marcket crosse. This I did befoir these witnessis, Iohne Andersoun and Dauid Lant, with vthers diuerse. And for

mair witnessing to thys my execution and indorsation my signet is affixt.

VPon the penult day of March, first and secound dayes of Apryll, the yeare of God aboue writtin. I Gawine Ramsy messenger, ane of the Shreffis in that part within constitute, past at commandement of these our soueraigne Ladies letters, and in hir gracis name and authoritie, warnit the sayd Mathew Erle of Leucnox at his dwelling places in Glesgw and Dunbertane respective, because I serchit & socht & could nat apprehend him personally, and all vther hir maiesties liegis hauand and pretendand to haue intres to persue in the matter within expremit, be proclamation at the marckat crosses of the burrowes of Glesgw, Dunbertane, and Lanerk, for to compere befoir the Justice or his deputies in the sayd tolbuith of Edenburgh the said xij. day of Apryll next to cum, to persew and concurre with our sayd soueraigne Lady in the actionn within writtin with certificatioun as is within mentionit, efter the forme and tenor of these letters quhairesf I affixt ane copy vpoun euery ane of the sayd marckat crosses. This I did befoir these witnesse, George Herbesoun, Nicholl Andro, Robert Letterik messenger, William Smollet, Dauid Robertsoun, James Smollet, John Hammeltoun, James Bannatine, and Robert Hammeltoun, with diuers vther. And for mair witnessing heresf, my signet is affixt, Subscriuit wyth my hand, *Gawine Ramsy messenger*.

VPon ỳ first day of Apryll. The yere of God 1567. yeare. I William Lawsoun messinger, Shrieue in that pare within constitute,

past

past at commaund of these our soueraine Ladies letters, to the markat crosse of Perth and thare, be open proclamation lawfully warnit Mathew Erle of Leuenor and all vthers our soueranc Ladies liegis, hauand or pretendand ta haue intres, to pursue James Erle Bothwell, Lord Hailes, and Creyghtoun. &c. & certain vthers, for ŷ cruall slaughter & murder of the kyngis grace, and affixt ane copy vppon the sayd crosses, efter the forme and tenour of these letters. And this I did befoir these witnesses, James marschell, Alexander Borthuike, and Johnne Andersoun messingeris, with others diuers. And for the maire witnessing of this my execution and indorsatioun, I haue subscriuit thys with my hande.
*Williame Lawsoun messenger with my hand.*

## The dittay.

IAmes Erle Bothwell, Lord Haylis, and Creychtoun. &c. ye are inditit for acte & part of the cruell, odious, treasonabill, and abhominabill slauchter and murder of ŷ vmquhile, the right excellent, right high and mighty Prince the kyngis grace, dearest spouse for the tyme to our soueranc Lady the Quenis maiestie, vnder silence of night in his awne lodging beside the Kirke of fielde within this borrow, he being taking the nightis rest, treasonably rayssing fire within the same, with ane great quantitie of powder. Throughe force of the quilke, the sayd hole lodging was rayst and blowen in the aire. And ŷ said vmquhile king was murtherit treasonably & maist cruelly slayne & destroyit by you thairin vpon set purpose, prouision, and forethought felonye. And this ye did vppon the ninth day of Februar last by past, vnder

silence of night, as sayd is. As is notoriously knawen, quhilke ye can not deny.

Apoun the quhilk production of the foir-sayd letters execute, indorsit and dittay, the sayd aduocate askit an Act of Court and instrumentis, and desirit of the Justice processe conforme thairto.

The sayd letters being openly red in iugement with the indorsations thaireof, the Justice by vertue of the same causit call the sayd James Erle Bothwell as defender on that ane part, and Mathew Erle of Leuenox and all vthers our souerane Ladies liegis, hauand & pretendand to pursue in the sayd matter, to compere befoir him in this court of iustitiarie, to pursue and defend as accordes of the law.

Comperit immediatly thairefter in iugement, the sayd James Erle Bothwell, and enterit as parsonale, and thã chusit Maister Dauid Borthuike of Luchthill, and Maister Edmund Hay prolocutoris for him, quho also comperit personally in iugement, and were admittit by the Justice to that effect.

Comperit also Maister Henry Kinrof alleging him procurator for Andro maister of Errole, and produsit in iugement the writing and protestatioun vnder written, desiring the same to be registerit and insert in the bukes of adiornale, quhairof the tenor followis.

The quhilke day comperit Maister Henry Kinrof procurator for Androw maister of Errole Constable of Scotland, and allegit that the Constabillis for the tyme of thys realme hes bene at all tymes bypast onely

iudges

iudges competent to al sic personis as hes bene accusit criminally for committyng of slaughter murther of blude drawing nere to the Prince chamer, and within foure myles for the same. And thairfoir the sayd Mayster now beyng Constabill of thys realme, aught and should be Judge competent to James Erle Bothwell and vthers his allegit complices callit thys day, and to be accusit for acte and pairt of the allegit cruell, treasonabill slaughter of vnquhyle Henry king of Scottis. And in caise Archebald Erle of Argyle as Justice generall of this realme or his deputies proceid and cognosce in the sayd cause, the sayde Maister Henry procurator forsayd protestis solempnlye that the same proceding therin on na wayes hurt nor preiuge the sayd Constabill his office rightis, title of rightis, intres, iurisdictioun, or inuestiment thairof in any sort, but that he may vse and exercise hys sayd iurisdictioun in all sic caisses in tymes cumming, conforme to his inuestiment of the sayd office, and vse ofcognoscing vsit by hys predecessours and hym befoir in semblable causes. All quhilke tyme he makis it knawen either by inuestimēt or vther wayes sufficiently him to haue iurisdictioun in sic cassis. And desires the same protestatioun to be insert in the buke of adiornale, and admittit vnder protestatioun that he affirme not my Lord Justice iurisdictioun in any sort in procedyng in the sayd matter.

The Justice beyng aduisit with the sayd allegeance and protestatioun fande by interlocutor, and ordaynit that processe should be led by hym in thys matter. Notwithstanding the same in respect that nathyng was shawin by the sayd maister Henry to verefie the cōtentes

of the sayd allegeance & protestation. Quhairuppoun the sayd Erle Bothwell askit ane note of court and instrument.

The sayd Mathew Erle of Leuenox and vthers our soueranc Ladies lieges, hauand or pretendand to haue intres to pursue in the sayd matter beyng oftymes callit, to haue comperit and concurrit with the sayd aduocates, in pursute of the sayd actioun, comperit Robart Cunninghame, allegeing hym seruaunt to the sayd Mathew Erle of Leuenox, and produceit the writing vnder writtin, quhilke he subscriuit wyth his hand in iugement. As he that had power to vse the same, and protestit and desirit conforme thairto in all pountes. Of the quhilke writing the tennor followes.

My Lordes I am cum here, sent by my mayster my Lord of Leuenox, to declare the cause of his absence thys day, and wyth hys power as the same beris. The cause of hys absence is the shortnes of tyme: and that he he is denied of hys frendis and seruants, quho should haue accompaneit hym to hys honor & suretie of his life, in respect of the greatnes of hys party. And he hauing assistance of na frendes but onely hymselfe. And thairfoir hys L. hes commandit me to desire ane sufficient day, according to the weight of the cause, quhairthrough he may keepe the same. And if your L. will procede at thys present, I protest that I may without any displeasure of any man, vse these thinges committit to my charge by my Lord my Mayster. Quhairof I take ane document.

Item I protest that if the personis quho passis

paſſis vpoun aſſyſe and inqueſt of theſe perſones that ſhall enter on pannell thys day, clenſe the ſayd perſones of the murther of the kyng, that it ſhalbe wilfull error and not ignorance, by reaſoun that it is notourlye knawen theſe perſones to be the murtherers of the kyng, as my Lord my maiſter allegis, vppoun the quhilke proteſtatioun I require ane document. *Sic ſubſcribitur.* Robert Cunningham.

Vppon the productioun of the quhilke writing and proteſtatioun, the ſayd Robert aſkit actes and inſtrumentis.

The Juſtice beyng aduiſit with the foirſayd writyng and proteſtatioun producit and diſyt by the ſayd Robert Cunningham in reſpect of the letters and writinges ſent to our ſouerane by the ſayd Mathew Erle of Leuenox produtit and red in iugement, quhairof the copeis are vnder writtin. By the quhilke letters and writinges the ſayd Erle of Leuenox deſirit ſchort and ſummare proceſſe to be deducit in the ſayd mattter, and als of the act and ordinaunce of the Lordes of ſecret counſell grauntit thereuppon, and ſic lyke in reſpect of the earneſt inſiſting of the aduocates, deſiring proceſſe and right ſute of the ſayde Erle Bothwelles earneſt petitioun and deſire of tryall to be had in the ſayd matter, wyth aduiſe of the Lords and Barones aſſeſſors preſent, fand by interlocutor that proceſſe ſhould be deducit in the ſayd actioun thys day, conforme to the lawes of thys realme. Notwithſtanding the writyng and proteſtatioun producit by the ſayd Robart Cunningham, and als admittit him to concurr and aſſiſt to the ſayd aduocates in purſute of the ſayd actioun if he pleaſit.

# Followis the copeis of the letters and writingis sent to the Quenis maiestie by the sayd Erle of Leuenox.

I Render maist humble thankes vnto your maiestie for your gracious and comfortabill letter quhilke I haue receuit the xxiij. day of this instant. And quhairas I perceaue by the same that it is your maiesties pleasure to remit the tryall of this late odious act to the time of a Parliament. Pleasit your maiestie although I am assurit your highnes thynkis the tyme as long as I do till the matter be tryit, and the auctours of the deid condignely punisht, yet I shall humbly craue your maiesties pardoun in troublyng your hyghnes so oft thairin as I do, for the matter touches me sa nere, beseikand your maiestie maist humbly to accept this my simple aduise in gude part as followes. Quhilk is, that quhaire the tyme is lang to the Parliament, thys matter not being a Parliament matter, but of sic weight and oportunitie quhilke aught rather to be with all expeditioun and diligence socht out and punisht to the example of the hole world, as I knaw your maiesties wisdome considers the same farre mair than my wittes can comprehend, yet forsameckle as I heare of certain tikkettis that hes ben put on the tolbuith doze of Edenbrough aunswering your maiesties first and second proclamations quhilke names in speciall certayne persones deuisers of the cruell murther, I shal thairfoir maist humbly beseike your maiestie, for the luif of God, the honour of your maiestie, and your realme and wele & quietnes of ȳ same, that it will please your maiestie fourthwith not onely to apprehend and put in sure keeppyng the persones namit in the

sayd

sayd tikkettes, but als wyth diligēce to assem-
blie your maiesties nobilitie, and than by opin
proclamatioun to admonishe and requyre the
wyrpters of the sayd tikkettis, to compere ac-
cording to the effect thairof, at the quhilke
tyme if thay do not, your maiestie may by ad-
uise of your nobilitie and counsell releue and
put to libertie the personis in the tikkettis foir-
sayd. So shall your maiestie do ane honorabill
and godly act in the bringyng the matter to sic
ane narrow poynt as eyther the matter shall
appere playnely befoir your maiestie, to the pu-
nischment of thaim quho hes bene the auctoris
of this cruell deid, or els the saydc tikketis
sand vayne in thair selfe, and the personis
quhilke are sclanderit to be exonerit and put to
libertie at your maiesties pleasure. So com-
mittis your maiestie to the protectioun of al-
mighty God, quho preserue you in helth and
maist happy raigne. Of Howstoun the xxvi.
day of Febyuary.

PLeasit your maiestie, quhairc your highnes
in your last letter to me wrytes that if there
be any names in the tikkettis that was affixt
vppon the tolbuith daze of Edinburgh that
I thinke wozthy to suffer a triall for the mur-
ther of the kyng your maiesties husband, vp-
pon my aduertisimēt, your maiestie should pro-
ceid to the cognicioun taking as may stand
wyth the lawes of thys realme, and beyng
fand culpabill, shall see the punischyment as ri-
gorously executit as the weight of the crym
deseruis. Pleasit your maiestie sens the reas-
sait of your highnes letter I haue fand, that
that some of the bludy murtherers sould haue
bene opinly knawen or now. And seyng thay
are not yet, I cannot finde in my hart to con-
ceile the matter any longer. Bot for your ma-

teſtie vnderſtand the naines of thaim quhome I greatly ſuppect, that is to ſay, the Erle Bothwell, Maiſter Jaines Balfor, and Gilbert Balfor hys brother, Maiſter Dauid Chamer, Blackmaiſter, John Spēs, Seneor Fraūces, Baſtiane, John de Burdeaux, and Joſeph Dauids brother. Quhilke perſones I ſhall maiſt intierly and humbly beſeik your maieſtie that accoirding to my former petitioun vnto your highnes, it will pleaſe not onely to apprehend and put in ſure keping, but alſ with diligence to aſſemble your maieſties hole nobilitie and counſell, and than to take ſic perfite oirder of the foirnamit perſones, that thay may be iuſtly tryit, as I doubt not but in ſo doyng the ſpirit of God ſhall woirke in the ſayd matter as the truth ſhalbe knawin. So ſhall your maieſtie do a maiſt godly and honorabill act, for your ſelfe beyng the pairty as ye are, And ane great ſatiſfactioun it ſhalbe to all that belonges vnto hym that is gone, quho was ſa deare vnto your highnes. And now not doubtit but your maieſtie will take oirder in the matter accoirding to the weight of the cauſe, quhilke I maiſt humbly beſeike, I commit your maieſtie to the protectioun of the almighty God, quho preſerue you in health, lang life, and maiſt happy reigne. Of Howſtoun thys xvij. of March.

Aſſiſa.

Andro Erle of Rothes.
George Erle of Caithnes.
Gilbert Erle of Caſſillis.
Lord Iohne Hamiltoun, comandar of Arbroycht ſone to the Lord Duke.
Iames Lord Roſſe.

Ro-

Robert Lord Sunple.
Iohnne Maxwell Lord Hereis.
Laierence Lord Oliphant.
Iohnne Maister of Forueſſ.
Iohnne Gordoun of Lothinware.
Robert Lord Boyd.
Iames Cokburne of Lantoun
Iohne Someruile of Cambuſnethan.
Mowbray of Berne Buxall.
Ogilbye of Boyne.

THe forenamit perſons of Aſſiſe being choſen admitted and ſworne in iugement, as vſe is. And thairfore the ſayd Erle Bothwell being accuſit by the ſayd dictay of the crime aforeſayd, and the ſame being denyed by hym, and referrit to the deliuerance of the ſayd aſſiſes, thay remouit forth of the ſayd Court, and altogidder conuenit, and after lang reaſoning had by thame vpoun the ſame dictay and pointis thairof, they and ilke ane of tham for tham ſelfis votit, deliuerit and acquite the ſayd Iames Erle Bothwell of act and part of the ſayd ſlaucghter of the Kyng, and poyntes of the ſayd dictay.

And ſince the ſayd George Erle of Caythnes Chaunceller of the ſayd aſſiſes in hys and thayr names aſkit inſtruments, that nouther the ſayd aduocates, nor the ſayd Robert Cunningham as hauād commiſſion of my Lord of Lcuenor, nor na vtheris brought into thame any writing token or verification quhairby the dictay aboue written might be fortefyit, nor the ſayd aſſiſe perſwadit to deliuer any vtherwiſe, than is aboue written. Nor yet was the ſayd dictay ſworne, nor no partye, except the ſayd aduocates, comperit to purſew the ſaim,

and tharfoyr in respect that they deliuerit accoyrding to thayr knawlege, protestis that thay should incur na wilfull erroyr in any wise heirafter. Quhilk instrument and protestatioun immediatly after the reentry of the sayd Erle of Caythnes Chauncelloyr, and ane pairt of the named of the sayd persons of assyise in the sayd court of iusticiarie, befoyr the pronunciatioun of thayr deliueraunce foyresayd at the desire of the sayd Erle of Caythnes was openly read in iugement. And thayrupon he of new askeit actis and instrumentis, and protesteth in manner aboue expremit.

*Extractum de libro Actorum Adiornalis S. D. N. Reginæ. Per me Ioannem Bellenden de Auchnoule militem, clericum iusticiariæ eiusdem generalem. Sub meis signo & subscriptione mannalibus.*

Ioannes Bellenden
Clericus Iusticiariæ.

Note that at the same tyme protestatioun was made by George Erle of Catnes Chanceller of the sayd Assise that the said dittay or enditement was nat in this point true, vz. in allegyng the murder to be committit the ir. day of Februarie for that in dede the murder was committed the next day beyng the r. day in the moyrnyng at twa houres after midnight whiche in law was and ought to be truely accomptit the r. day and so the acquitall that way but caillouslie defendit.

The

# The writynges and letters found in the sayd casket, which are auowit to be written with the Scottishe Quenis awne hand.

**Certaine French Sonnettes writ-ten by the quene of Scottes to Both-well, befoir hir mariage with him, and (as it is sayd) quhile hir husband lyuit, But certainly befoir his diuorce from hys wife as the wordes tham selues shew, befoir quhom she here prefer-reth hir selfe in deserning to be belo-ued of Bothwell.**

*O Dieux ayez de moy compassion,*
*Et m'enseignez quelle preuue certain*
*Ie puis donner qui ne luy semble vain*
*De mon amour & ferme affection.*
*Las n'est il pas ia en possession*
*Du corps, du cœur qui ne refuse paine*
*Ny deshonneur, en la vie incertaine,*
*Offense de parentz, ne pire affliction?*
*Pour luy tous mes amis i'estime moins que*
*Et de mes ennemis ie veux esperer bien. (rien,*
*I'ay hazardé pour luy & nom & conscience:*
*Ie veux pour luy au monde renoncer:*
*Ie veux mourir pour luy auancer.*
*Que reste il plus pour prouuer ma constance?*

*Entre ſes mains & en ſon plein pouuoir*
*Ie metz mon filz, mon honneur, & ma vie,*
*Mon païs, mes ſubiectz, mon ame aſſubiectie*
*Eſt tout à luy, & n'ay autre vouloir.*
*Pour mon obiect que ſans le deceuoir*
*Suiure ie veux malgré toute l'enuie*
*Qu'iſſir en peult, Car ie n'ay autre enuie*
*Que de ma foy, luy faire apperceuoir*
*Que pour tempeſte ou bonnace qui face*
*Iamais ne veux changer demeure ou place.*
*Brief ie feray de ma foy telle preuue,*
*Qu'il cognoiſtra ſans fainte ma conſtance,*
*Non par mes pleurs ou fainte obeyſſance,*
*Cõme autres ont fait, mais par diuers eſpreuue.*

*Elle pour ſon honneur vous doibt obeyſſance*
*Moy vous obeyſſant i'en puis receuoir blaſme,*
*N'eſtãt, à mõ regret, comme elle voſtre femme.*
*Et ſi n'aura pour tant en ce point préeminence.*
*Pour ſon profit elle vſe de conſtance,*
*Car ce n'eſt peu d'honneur d'eſtre de voz biens*
*dame*
*Et moy pour vous aymer i'en puis recenoir*
*blaſme*
*Et ne luy veux ceder en toute l'obſeruance*
*Elle de voſtre mal n'a l'apprehenſion*
*Moy ie n'ay nul repos tant ie crains l'apparence*
*Par l'aduis des parentz elle eut voſtre accoin-*
*tance*
*Moy malgré tous les miens vous porte affection*
*Et de ſa loyauté prenez ferme aſſeurance.*

*Par vous mon cœur & par voſtre alliance*

*Elle*

*Elle à remis ſa maiſon en honneur*
*Elle à iouy par vous la grandeur*
*Dont tous les ſiens n'ayent nul aſſeurance*
*De vous mon bien elle à eu la conſtance,*
*Et à gaigné pour vn temps voſtre cœur.*
*Par vous elle à eu plaiſir en bon heur,*
*Et pour vous à receu honneur & reuerence,*
*Et n'a perdu ſinon la iouyſſance*
*D'vn faſcheux ſot qu'elle aymoit cherement.*
*Ie ne la playns d'aymer donc ardamment,*
*Celuy qui n'a en ſens, ny en vaillance,*
*En beauté, en bonté, ny en conſtance*
*Point de ſeçonde. Ie vis en ceſte foy.*

*Quant vous l'amiez elle vſoit de froideur.*
*Sy vous ſouffriez pour ſ'amour paſſion*
*Qui vient d'aymer de trop d'affection,*
*Son doig monſtroit, la triſteſſe de cœur*
*N'ayant plaiſir de voſtre grand ardeur*
*En ſes habitz monſtroit ſans fiction*
*Qu'elle n'auoit paour qu'imperfection*
*Peuſt l'effacer hors de ce loyal cœur.*
*De voſtre mort ie ne vis la peaur*
*Que meritoit tel mary & ſeigneur.*
*Somme de vous elle à eu tout ſon bien*
*Et n'à priſé ny iamais eſtimé*
*Vn ſi grand heur ſi non puis qu'il n'eſt ſien*
*Et maintenant dit l'auoir tant aymé.*

*Et maintenant elle commence à voir*
*Qu'elle eſtoit bien de mauuais iugement*
*De n'eſtimer l'amour d'vn tel amant*
*Et voudroit bien mon amy deceuoir*

*Par les escriptz tout fardez de sçauoir*
*Qui pourtant n'est on son esprit croissant*
*Ains emprunté de quelque autheur eluissant.*
*A faint tresbien vn enuoy sans l'auoir*
*Et toutesfois ses parolles fardez,*
*Ses pleurs, ses plainctz remplis de fictions,*
*Et ses hautz cris & lamentations,*
*Ont tant gaigné qui par vous sont gardez*
*Ses lettres escriptes ausquelz vous donnez foy*
*Et si l'aymez & croyez plus que moy.*

*Vous la croyez, las trop ie l'apperçoy*
*Et vous doutez de ma ferme constance,*
*O mon seul bien & mon seul esperance,*
*Et ne vous puis asseurer de ma foy*
*Vous m'estimez legier qui le voy,*
*Et si n'auez en moy nul asseurance,*
*Et soupçonnez mon cœur sans apparence,*
*Vous deffiant à trop grand tort de moy.*
*Vous ignorez l'amour que ie vous porte,*
*Vous soupçonnez qu'autre amour me trasporte,*
*Vous estimez mes parolles du vent,*
*Vous depeignez de cire mon las cœur,*
*Vous me pensez femme sans iugement.*
*Et tout cela augmente mon ardeur.*

*Mon amour croist & plus en plus croistra*
*Tant que ie viuray, & tiendray à grandheur,*
*Tant seulement d'auoir part en ce cœur*
*Vers qui en fin mon amour paroistra*
*Sy tres à clair que iamais n'en doutra.*
*Pour luy ie veux recercher la grandeur,*
*Et feray tant qu'en vray cognoistra,*

*Que*

*Que ie n'ay bien, heur, ne contentement,*
*Qu'à l'obeyr & ſeruir loyaument.*
*Pour luy iattendz toute bonne fortune.*
*Pour luy ie veux garder ſanté & vie.*
*Pour luy tout vertu de ſuyure i'ay enuie,*
*Et ſans changer me trouuera tout' vne.*

*Pour luy auſsi ie iette mainte larme.*
*Premier quand il ſe fiſt de ce corps poſſeſſeur,*
*Duquel alors il n'auoit pas le cœur.*
*Puis me donna vn autre dur alarme,*
*Quand il verſa de ſon ſang mainte dragme,*
*Dont de grief il me vint leſſer doleur,*
*Qui m'en penſa oſter la vie, & frayeur*
*De perdre las le ſeul rempar qui m'arme.*
*Pour luy depuis iay meſpriſé l'honneur*
*Ce qui nous peult ſeul pouruoir de bonheur.*
*Pour luy i'ay hazardé grandeur & conſcience.*
*Pour luy tous mes parentz i'ay quité, & amis,*
*Et tous autres reſpectz ſont apart mis.*
*Brief de vous ſeul ie cerche l'alliance.*

*De vous ie dis ſeul ſouſtien de ma vie*
*Tant ſeulement ie cerche m'aſſeurer,*
*Et ſi oſe de moy tant preſumer*
*De vous gaigner maugré toute l'enuie.*
*Car c'eſt le ſeul deſir de voſtre chere amie,*
*De vous ſeruir & loyaument aymer,*
*Et tous malheurs moins que riens eſtimer,*
*Et voſtre volonté de la mien ſuiure.*
*Vous cognoiſtrez auecques obeyſſance*
*De mon loyal deuoir n'omettant laſciance*
*A quoy i'eſtudiray pour touſiours vous cõplaire,*

*Sans aymer rien que vous, soubz la subiection*
*De qui ie veux sans nulle fiction*
*Viure & mourir & a ce i'obtempere.*

*Mon cœur, mon sang, mon ame, & mon soucy,*
*Las, vous m'auez promis qu'aurons ce plaisir*
*De deuiser auecques vous à loysir,*
*Toute la nuict, ou ie languis icy,*
*Ayant le cœur d'extreme paour transy,*
*Pour voir absent le but de mon desir*
*Crainte d'oublir vn coup me vient à saisir:*
*Et l'autre fois ie crains que rendurcie*
*Soit contre moy vostre amiable cœur*
*Par quelque dit d'vn meschant rapporteur.*
*Vn autre fois ie crains quelque auenture*
*Qui par chemin detourne mon amant,*
*Par vn fascheux & nouueau accident.*
*Dieu detourne toute malheureux augure.*

*Ne vous voyant selon qu'auez promis*
*I'ay mis la main au papier pour escrire*
*D'vn different que ie voulu transcrire.*
*Ie ne scay pas quel sera vostre aduis*
*Mais ie scay bien qui mieux aymer scaura,*
*Vous diriez bien que plus y gaignera.*

O Goddis haue of me compassioun,
And schew quhat certaine prose
I may get, which shall nat seem to him vaine,
Of my loue and feruent affectioun.
Helas, is he nat alredy in possessioun
Of my bodie, of hart, that refusis no payne,
Noz dishonour in the life vncertaine,
Offence offrendes, noz wozse affliction,

Foz

For him I esteme al my frēds les thē nathing,
And I will haue gude hope of my enemeis.
I haue put in hasard for him both fame & con=
I will for his sake renounce ȳ world, (sciēce,
I will die to set him forwart.
Quhat remayneth to gief proofe of my con=
stancie?

In his handis and in his full power,
I put my sonne, my honour, and my lyif,
My contry, my subiects, my soule al subdewit,
To him, and has none vther will
For my scope, quhilk without deceit,
I will folow in spite of all enuie
That may ensue: for I haif na vther desire,
But to make him perceiue my faythfulnes,
For storme or fayre wedder that may come,
Neuer will it chainge dwelling, or place.
Schortly I sall geif of my trueth sic proofe,
That he sall know my constancie without fiction,
Not by my weping, or faynit obedience,
As other haue done: but by vther experience.

Sche for hyr honour oweth you obedience:
I in obaying you may receiue dishonour,
Nat being (to my displesure) your wife as she.
And yit in this poynt she shall haue na preheminence.
Sche vseth constancy for hyr awin profite:
For it is na litle honour to be maistres of your goodes.
And I for luifing of you may receiue blame,
And will nat be ouercumme by hyr in loyall obseruaunce.
Sche has no apprehension of your euyll,
I feare so all appearing euill that I can haue na rest.
Sche had your acqueintance by consent of hyr freindes,

I againſt al thair will haue borne you affectiõ.
And nat the leſſe (my hart) you doubt of my
conſtance,
And of hir faithfulnes you haif firme aſſuräce.

By you (my hart) and by your aliance
Sche hath reſtored hyr houſe vnto honour,
By you ſhe is become to that greitnes,
Of quhilk hyr freindis had neuer aſſurance,
Of you (my wealth) ſche got the acquentance,
And hath conqueſt the ſame time your hart.
By you ſche hath pleaſure and good lucke,
And by you hath receiued honour & reuerence,
And hath nat loſt but the reioyſance
Of one vnpleaſät foole, quhilk ſhe louit deirly.
Than I moane hyr nat to loue ardently
Vnn that hath none in wit, in manhead,
In beauty, in bounty, in truth, nor in cõſtancy,
Ony ſecond: I lief in the beleif.

Quhen you louit hyr ſche vſit coldneſſe,
Gif you ſuffrith for hir luif paſſioun,
That commith of to greit affectioun of luif,
Hyr ſadnes ſchew the triſteſſe of hyr hart,
Taking na pleaſure of your vehemẽt burning,
In hyr clothing ſhe ſchew vnfaynitly,
That ſche had na feir, that imperfection
Could deface hyr out of that true hart.
I did not ſee in hyr the feir of your death,
That was worthy of ſic huſband and Lord.
Schortly ſche hath of you all hyr wealth.
And hath neuer wepit nor eſtemit
One ſo greit hap, but ſins it was nat hirs,
And now ſhe ſaith that ſhe loueth him ſo well.

And now ſche beginneth to ſee,
That ſche was of veray euill iugement,
To eſteeme the loue of ſic ane louer,
And wald fayne deceiue my loue,

By

By writinges and paintit learning,
Quhilk nat the leſſe did not breid in hir braine,
But borrowit from ſum feate authour,
To fayne one ſturt and haik none.
And for all that hyr paintit wordis,
Hyr teares, hyr plaintes full of diſſimulation,
And hyr hye crves and lamentations
Hath won that poynt, that you keip in ſtore,
Hir letters and writinges, to quhilk you geif
truſt,
ye, and loueſt and beleuiſt hyr more than me.

You beleue hir (helas) I perceiue it to well,
And callist in doubt my firme conſtancie
(O mine onely wealth, and my onely hope)
And I can not aſſure you of my truth.
I ſee that you eſteeme me light,
And be no way aſſurit of me,
And dooſt ſuſpect (my hart) without any ap=
pearing cauſe,
Diſcrediting me wrangouſly.
You do nat knaw the loue I beare to you.
You ſuſpect that vther loue tranſporteth me.
You thinke my wordes be but wind:
You paint my wery hart, as it were of waxe,
You imagine me an womã without iugement.
And all that encreaſeth my burning.

My loue increaſeth and more and more will
increaſe,
So lang as I ſhall lief, and I ſhall holde for
ane greit felicitie
To haue onely pairt in that hart,
To the quhilk at length my loue ſall appeare,
So clearely, that he ſall neuer doubt.
For him I will ſtriue againſt wan weard,
For him I will recerſe greitnes,
And ſall do ſo mikle that he ſhall know
That I haik no wealth, hap, nor contentation,

But to obay, and ſerue him truely.
For him I attend all gude fortune.
For him I will conſerue health and life,
For him I deſire to enſew courage,
And he ſhall euer finde me vnchangeable.

For him alſo I powred out many teares,
Firſt quhen he made himſelfe poſſeſſor of thys body.
Of the quhilk then he had nat the hart.
Efter he did geue me one vther hard charge,
Quhen he bled of his blude great quantitie,
Through the great ſorrow of the quhilk came to me that dolour,
That almoſt carpit away my life, and the feire
To leſe the onely ſtrength that armit me.
For him ſince I haif deſpiſit honour,
The thing onely that bringeth felicitie.
For him I haif hazardit greitnes & conſcience,
For him I haif forſaken all kin and frendes,
And ſet aſide all vther reſpectes,
Schortly, I ſeke the aliance of you onely.

Of you I ſay onely vpholder of my lyfe,
I onely ſeke to be aſſuerit,
ye, and dare preſume ſo much of my ſelfe,
To win you in ſpite of all enuy:
For that is the onely deſire of your deir loue,
To ſerue and loue you truely,
And to eſteme all wan hap leſſe then nathing,
And to follow your wyll wyth myne,
you ſhall knaw wyth obedience,
Not forgetting the knawlege of my leal deuty,
The quhilke I ſhall ſtudy to the fine that I may euer pleaſe you.
Louyng nothyng but you, in the ſubiectioun
Of quhome I wyll without any fictioun,
Liue and die, and this I conſent.

My

My hart, my blood, my ſoule, my care,
Helas you had promiſit that I ſhould haue
that pleaſure.
To deuiſe wyth you at leyſure.
All the night quhair I lye and languiſhe here,
My hart beyng ouerſet wyth extreme feare
Seeing abſent the butte of my deſire.
Feare of forgetting ſometyme taketh me,
And vther tymes I feare that louelam hart,
Be not hardenit agaynſt me
By ſum ſaying of ane wickit reporter,
Vther tymes I feare ſum auenture,
That by the way ſhould turne abacke my loue
By ſum troublous and new accident.
O God turne abacke all vnhappy augure.

Not ſeing you as you had promiſit,
I put my hand to the paper to write,
Of ane differens that I haue willit coppe.
I can not tell what ſhalbe your iugement,
But I knaw well quho can beſt loue,
you may tell who ſhall winne maiſt.

## A letter written by hir from Glaſcow to Bothwel prouing hir hate to hir huſband and ſome ſuſpicicions of practiſing hys death, quhilk letter was writtē in Frēch, and here enſueth tranſlatit word for word.

IL ſemble qu'auecques voſtre abſence ſoit ioynt l'oubly, veu qu'au partir vous me promiſtes de vos nouuelles. Et toutesfoys ie n'en puis apprendre. &c.

IT appearis that with your absence there is alswa ioinit forgetfulnes, seand that at your departing you promisit to make me aduertisemet of your newis from tyme to tyme. The awaytyng vpō thain yesterday, causit me to be almaist in sic ioy as I wilbe at your returning, quhilk ye haue delayit langer then your promise was. As to me howbeit I haue na further newes from you accordyng to my commissioun, I bryng the man with me to Craginillar vpon monday, quhair he wilbe all wednisday, and I will gang to Edenburgh to draw blude of me, gif in the meane tyme I get na newes in the contrarie fro you. He is mair gay thē euir ye saw him, he puttis me in remembrance of all thyngis that may make me beleue he lufis me. Summa ye will say that he makis loue to me: Of the quhilk I take sa grit plesure, that I cutir neuir quhair he is bot incontinent I take the seikues of my feire side I am sa troublit with it. Gif Pareis bryngis me that quhilk I send hym for, I trust it sall amend me. I pray you aduertise me of your newes at length and quhat I sall do, in case ye be nat returnit quhen I am come thare, for in case ye worke not willie I see that the hale burdyng of this will fall vpon my shoulders. Prouide for all thing and discours vpon it first with your self. I

send

send this by Betoun, quha gais to ane day of law of the lard of balfouris. I will say na further, sauffyng that I pray you to send me gude newes of your voyage. From Glascow this saterday in the mornyng.

## An vther letter to Bothwell concerning the hate of hir husband & practise of his murder.

ESTant party du lieu ou i'auois laissé mó cœur il se peult ayséement iuger quelle estoit ma contenance, veu ce qui peult vn corps sans cœur, qui à esté cause que iusques à la disnée ie n'ay pas tenu grand propos, ausi personne ne s'est voulu aduancer iugeant bien qu'il n'y faisoit bon. &c.

BEyng departit frō the place quhairt I left my hart, it is easie to be iudgit quhat was my countenaunce, seing that I was euen almickle as ane body without ane hart, quhilke was the occasioun that quhile dinner time I held purpois to na body, nor yit durst any present thamselfis vnto me, iudging that it was not gude so to do. Fower myle ere I came to the towne, ane Gentleman of the Erle of Lennox came and made his commendations vnto me, and excusit hym that he came not to meete me, by reason he durst not enterpryse the same

becauſe of the rude wordes that I had ſpoken to Cuningham, & he deſirit that he ſhould come to the inquiſition of the matter that I ſuſpectit hym of. Thys laſt ſpeaking was of hys owne head without any commiſſioun. I aunſwerit to hym that there wes no recepte could ſerue againſt feare, & that he would not be afrayed in caſe he were not culpabill, and that I aunſwerit but rudely to the doubtis that were in his letters: Summa, I made hym holde hys toung, the reſt were lang to write. Sir James Hammeltoun met me, quho ſchewd that the vther time quhen he heard of my cõming, he departit away, and ſent Houſtoun to ſchaw hym that he would neuir haue beleuit that he would haue purſuit hym, nor yit accompaneit hym wyth the Hammeltonis. He aunſwerit that he was onely cum but to ſee me, and that he would neyther accompany Stewart nor Hammiltoun but by my commaundement. He deſyrit that he would cum & ſpeake wt hym, he refuſit it. The Lard of Luſe Houſtoũ & Cauldwellis ſonne, wyth xl. horſe or thairabout came and met me. The Lard of Luſe ſayd he was chargit to ane day of law, by the kingis father, quhilk ſhould be this day, againſt his owne hand writ, quhilk he hes. And yit not withſtandyng, knowyng of my ſtanyng it is delayit, he was inquirit to

cum

cum to hym, quhilk he refusit, & swearis that he will indure nothing of him. Menie ane of ỳ towne came to speak to me, quhilke causis me thinke that they are hys, and neuertheless he speakis gude, at the least hys sonne. I see na vther Gentilman but thay of my cumpany. The kyng sent for Ioachim yesternight and askit at hym quhy I lodgeit not besyde hym, and that he would ryse the soner gif that wer, & quhairfoir I come, gif it was for gude appointment, and gif ye wer thair in particular, and gif I had made my estait, gif I had taken Pareis and Gilbert to wyit to me, and that I would send Ioseph away. I am abaschit quho hes schawin hym sa farre; yea he spake euin of the mariage of Bastian. I inquirit hym of his letters, quhairintil he playneit of the crueltie of sum, answerit that he was astonyshed, and that he was sa glad to see me that he beleuit to die for gladnes, he fand great fault that I was pensiue, I departit to supper, thys bearer wyll tell you of my arriuyng, he prayit me to returne, the quhilke I did, he declarit vnto me hys sickncs, and that he would make na testament but onely leif all thyng to me, and that I was the cause of hys malasy becaus of the regrait that he had that I was so straunge vnto hym. And thus he sayd, ye aske me quhat I meyne by the

This berer wil tel you sumwhat vpon this.

crueltie conteynit in my letter, it is of you alone that will not accept my offeris and repentance. I confesse that I haue fayled, but not into that quhilke I euir denyit, and sic lyke hes fayled to sundry of your subiectis quhilk ye haue forgeuen. I am yong, Ye wyll say that ye haue forgeuen me oftimes, and yet that I returne to my faultis. May not ane man of my aige for lacke of counsale fall twyse, or thryse, or in lacke of hys promyse, and at last repent hymselfe and be chastised by experience? If I may obteyne pardoun, I protest I shall neuer make fault agayne. And I craue na vther thyng but that we may be at bed and bourd together as husband & wyfe, and if ye wyll not consent heirunto, I shall neuir ryse out of thys bed, I pray you tell me your resolution. God knowes how I am punisht for making my god of you, and for hauing no vther thought but on you, and if at any time I offend you, ye are the cause, because quhen any offendis me, if for my refuge I might playne vnto you, I woulde speake it vnto no vther body, but quhen I heare any thyng, not beyng familiar wyth you, necessitie constreynes me to kepe it in my breast. And that causes me to tyne my wit for very anger. I answerit ay vnto hym, but that woulde be ouer long to write at length. I askit

quhy

quhy he would passe away in the Inglishe schip, he denyes it and sweares thairunto, but he grantes that he spake wyth the mē. After thys I inquirit him of the inquisitioun of Hiegait, he denyit the same quhile I shewed hym the very wordes was spokin. At quhilke tyme he sayd that Wynto had aduertesit hym that it was sayd that sum of the counsell had brought ane letter to me to be subscriuit to put hym in presoun, and to slay hym if he made resistence. And he askit the same at Wynto hymselfe, quho aunswerit that he beleuit the same to be true. The morne I will speake to hym vppoun thys point. As to the rest of Willie Hiegaites he confessit it, but it was the morne after my cumming or he did it. He wald very faine that I should lodge in hys lodging, I refusit it, and sayd to hym that he behouit to be purgeit, and that could not be done here, he sayd to me I heare say ye haue brought ane lytter wyth you, but I had rather haue passit wyth you. I trow he beleuit that I would haue sent hym away presoner: I aunswerit that I woulde take hym with me to Cragmillar quhair the medicinar and I myght helpe hym, and not be farre from my sonne, he aunswerit that he was reddie quhen I pleasit, so I would assure him of hys requeist, he desires no body to see hym, he is an-

gry quhen I speake of walcar, and sayis that he sall plucke the eares out of hys head, and that he lyes. For I inquirit him vpoun that, and that he was angry wyth sum of the Lordis & would threten tham, he denies that & sayis he luifs tham all, & prayes me to geue trust to nathing against him, as to me he wald rather gene hys life or he did any displesure to me. And after thys he schewd me of so many litle flatteries, so couldly, & so wyslie, that ye will abasch thereat. I had almaist forgot that he sayd he could not doubt of me in this purpois of Hiegaittis, for he would neuer beleue that I quho was his proper flesh would do hym any euill, alsweill it was schawin that I refusit to subscriue the same: but as to any vthers that would pursue him at least he should sell hys life deare enough, but he suspectit no body nor yit would not, but would luif all that I luifit, he would not let me depart fro hym but desirit that I shouldc wake wyth him, I make it seeme that I beleue that all is true, & takes heed thereto, and excusit my selfe for this night that I could not wake, he sayes that he sleepes not well, ye saw him neuer better nor speike mair humblier. And if I had not a pruif of hys hart of wax, and that mine were not of ane Dyamont, quhairintill no shot can make breach, but that quhilk

comes

comes forth of your hand, I would haue almaist had pitie of hym. But feare not, the place shall holde vnto the death. Remēber in recompēce therof that ye suffer not yours to be wonne by that false race that wil trauell no lesse with you for the same. I beleue thay haue bene at scholis together, he hes euer the tear in his eye, he salutes euery body, yea vnto ȳ least, and makes pitious carelling vnto them to make them haue pitie on hym. Thys day hys father bled at the mouth & nose, gesse quhat prefaige that is. I haue not yit sene hym, he keepes hys chamber. The kyng desires that I should geue hym meate wyth my owne handes. But geue na mair trust quhair you are thā I shall do here. This is my first iorney, I shall end ȳ same to morrow. I write all thynges, howbeit thay be of littill weight, to the end that ye may take the best of all to iudge vpon. I am in doing of a werke here that I hait greatly. Haue ye not desire to laugh to see me lie so weill, at the least to dissembill so weill and to tell hym truth betuix handes. He shewd me almaist all that is in the name of the byschop and Sinderland, and yit I haue neuer toucheit ane word of that ye shewd me, but allanerlie by force flattering, and to pray hym to assure hymselfe of me. And by playning on the byschop I haue drawen it all out of hym.

ye haue heard the reſt. we are coupled wyth twa falſe races, the deuill ſunder vs, and God knitte vs together for euer for the maiſt faythfull couple that euer he vnitid. This is my fayth I wyll die in it. Excuſe it I writ euill, ye may geſſe the halfe of it, but I can not mende it becauſe I am not weill at eaſe, and yit very glad to writ vnto you quhen the reſt are ſleepand, ſithe I can not ſleipe as thay do and as I would deſire, that is, in your armes my deare loue, quhom I pray God to preſerue from all euyll and ſend you repoſe, I am gangand to ſeke myne till the morne quhen I ſhall end my Bybill, but I am faſcheit that it ſtoppies me to writ newis of my ſelf vnto you, becauſe it is ſo lang. Aduertiſe me quhat ye haue deliberat to do in the matter ye know vppon thys point, to the end that we may vnderſtand vthers weill, that nothing thairthrough be ſpilt. I am irkit & ganging to ſleipe, and yit I ceaſe not to ſcrible all thys paper inſamickle as reſtis thairof. waryed might this pokkiſh mā be ẏ cauſes me haue ſa mickle paine: for without him I ſhold haue ane far pleſander ſubiect to diſcours vpoun. He is not ouermickle diſcreit, yet he hes receiued verie mickle. He hes almaiſt ſlayne me with his breth, it is werſe thē your vncles, & yet I cum na nerar vnto him but

in ane chayre at the beds fute, and he beyng at the vther end thairof.
The massage of the father in the gait.
The purpois of Sir James Hammeltoun.
Of that the Lord of Lusse shewd me of the delay.
Of the demaundis that he askit at Joachim.
Of my estait, of my cumpany, of the occasioun of my cumming, and of Joseph.
Item, the purpois that he and I had together.
Of the desire that he hes to please me, and of hys repentance.
Of the interpretatioun of his letter.
Of Willie Hiegaittis matter of hys departing.
Of Monsieur de Leuingstoun.

I had almost forgot that Monsier de Leuingstoun sayd in the Lady Reres eare at suppar, that he wald drink to the folke that I wist of, if I wald plege thame. And eftir suppar he sayd to me quhen I wes leuand vpoun hym warming me at the fyre: ye haue fayr going to se sik folk, yit ye can not be sa welcum to thame, as ye left sum body this day in regrait, that will neuir be blyth quhill he se you againe. I askit at hym, quha that wes? with that he thrustit my body and sayd, that sum of hys folkes

had seene you in falscherie, ye may gesse at the rest. I wrought thys day quhill it wes twa houris vpoun thys bracelet, for to put the key of it wythin the lock thereof, quhilk is coupled vndirneth with twa cordwinis. I haif had sa littill time that it is euill mayd: but I sall mak ane fairer in the meane tyme. Take heid that nane that is heir se it, for all the warld will knaw it: because for haist it wes maid in thair presence. I am now passād to my falschious purpoes. Ye gar me dissemble sa far that I haif horring thairat: and ye cause me do almost the office of a traitores. Remember how gif it wer not to obey you, I had rather be deid or I dyd it: my hart bleides at it. Summa, he will not come with me except vpoun conditioun that I will promeise to him that I sall be at bed and bourde with hym as of before, and that I sall leaue him na ostar: and doing thys vpoun my worde he will do all thingis that I pleis, and cum with me: bothe hes prayit me to remane vpoun hym quhill vther morne. He spake verie brauely at the beginning, as thys bearar will schaw you, vpoun the purpois of the Inglismen, and of hys departing: bot in the end he returnit agane to hys humilitie. He schewit amangis vther purposes that he knew weill anewch, that my bruther had schewin

win me that thing quhilk he had spoken in Striueling: of the quhilk he denyis the ane half, and aboue all, that euir he cum in his chamber. For to make him traist me it behouit me to fayne in sum thingis with him: therfoyr quhen he requestit me to promeise vnto him, that quhē he wes hail we sould hail both ane bed. I sayd to him, fayningly and making me to beleue his promisis, that gif he changit not purposis betuix this and that time, I wald be content therewith, bot in the meane tyme I bad him take heid that he let na body wit thereof: because to speike amangis our selfis the Lordis could nat be offendit, nor wyll euill thairfoyr. But they wald feire in respect of the boasting he mayd of tham, that if euir we aggreit togidder, he should make tham know the litil compt thay tuke of him: and that he counsalit me not to purches sum of tham by him: thay for thys caus wald be in ielosy, gif attanis without thayr knawlege. I sould breke the play set vp in the contrair in thayr presence. He sayd very ioyfully: And thinke you thay will esteme you the mayr of that: bot I am very glad that you speike to me of the Lordis, for I beleue at thys time ye desire that we shold leif togidder in quietnes: for gif it wer vtherwayis greitter inconuenience might come to vs baith

than we are ware of: But now I will do quhat euir ye will do, and will lufe all that ye lufe, and deſyres you to make thame lufe in like maner: for lithe thay ſeeke nat my lyfe, I lufe thame al equally. Upoun this poynt this berar will ſchew you many ſmall thinges. Becaus I haif ouer mikle to write, and it is lait, I gif traiſt vnto him vpon your word. Summa, he will ga vpoun my word to all places. Alas, I neuir deceit any body: but I remit me altogidder to your will. Send me aduertiſement quhat I ſall do, and quhatſoeuer thing ſall come thereof I ſall obey you. Aduiſe to with your ſelf if ye can finde out ony mair ſecrete inuentioun by medicine: for he ſhould take medicine and the bath at Cragmillar. He may not cum forth of the houſe this lang time. Summa, by all that I can lerne, he is in greit ſuſpicioun: and yit notwithſtanding he geues credeit to my word: bot yit not ſo farre that he will ſchew any thing to me. Bot neuirtheleſſe I ſall draw it out of him, gif ye will that I anow all vnto hym. Bot I wil neuir reioyce to diffame ony body that truſtis in me: yit notwithſtāding ye may commaund me in all thingis. Haue no euill opinioun of me for that caus, by reaſon ye are the occaſioun of it your ſelfe, becauſe for my awin particuler reuenge I

wald

wald not do it to him. He geues me sum
checkes of that quhilk I feard yea euen
in the quicke, he sayis thys far, that hys
faultis were publeist, bot thare is that
committis faultis that beleues thay wil
neuir be spoken of, and yit thay will
speike of greit and small. As towart
the Lady Keres he sayd, I pray God
that sche may serue you for your honor.
And sayd, it is thought and he beleuis it
to be trew, that I haif not the power of
my selfe into my selfe, and that because
of the refuse I maid of his offeris. Sū-
ma, for certantie he suspects of the thing
ye knaw, and of hys lyif. But as to the
last, how sone that I spake two or thre
gude wordis vnto hym, he reioysis & is
out of dout. I saw him not this euening
for to end your bracelet, to the quhilke
I cā get no lokkis, it is reddy to tham,
and yet I feare that it will bring some
malheur, and may be seene if ye chaunce
to be hurt. Aduertise me if ye will haue
it, and if ye will haue mair siluer, and
quhen I shall returne, & how far I may
speake. He inragis quhen he hearis of
Lethington, or of you, or of my brother.
Of your brother he speikis nathyng,
he spekis of the Erle of Ergyle. I am
in feir quhen I heare him speike: for he
assuris him self that he hes not ane euill
opinioun of him. He speikes nathing of
tham that is out nouther gude nor euil,

but fleis that point. His fader kepis his chamber, I haif not seene him. All the Hammiltonis ar heir, that accompaneis me verie honorably. All the frendis of the vther conuevis me quhen I gang to se him. He desiris me to come, and see him ryse the morne betime. For to make schort, this berar will tell you the rest. And if I learne any thing heir, I wyll make you memoriall at euin. He wyll tell you the occasioun of my remaining. Burne this letter, for it is ouir dangerous, and na thing well sayd in it: for I am thinkand vpoun nathing but falscherie. If you be in Edinburgh at the receit of it, send me word sone. Be not offendit, for I gief not ouir greit credeit. Now seyng to obey you, my deir lufe, I spare nouther honor, conscience, hazarde, nor greitnes quhatsumeuir, take it I pray you in gude pairt: and not eftir the interpretation of your false gude brother: to quhome I pray you gyif na credit, aganis the maist faithfull luffar that euir ye had, or euir sall haif.

Huntley.

Bothwels owne wife.

Se nat hir quhaies fayrit teares should nat be sa mickle prayse nor esteemit, as the trew and faythfull trauails, quhilke I sustayne for to merite hir place. For obtayning of the quhilke agains my naturall, I betrayis thame that may impesche me. God forgyif me, and God gyif you my onely lufe the hap and prosperitie

speritie, quhilk your humble and fayth-full luif desiris vnto you, quha hopis to be shortlie ane vther thyng to you for the rewart of my irksum trauellis. It is lait, I desire neuir to ceisse fra writyng vnto you, yit now after the kissing of your hands I wil end my letter. Excuse my euill writing and read it twise ouer. Excuse that thing that is scribled, for I had no paper yisterday quhē I wrait that of the memoriall. Remember vpon your luif, and write vnto hyr, and that verie oft. Loue me as I sal do you.

Remember you of the purpoes of the Lady Reres.
Of the Inglismen.
Of his moder.
Of the Erle of Argile.
Of the Erle Bothuile.
Of the lugeing in Edinbrough.

## An other letter to Bothwell concernyng certaine tokens that she sent hym.

MOnsieur si l'ennuy de vostre absence, celuy de vostre oubly, la crainte du danger, tant prouué d'vn chacun à vostre tant aymée personne. &c.

MY Lord if the displeasure of your absence, of your forgetfulnes, the feir of danger so promisit by euery one

to your so louit person, may gif me consolation, I leif it to you to iudge, seyng the vnhap that my cruell lot & cõtinuall misaduenture, hes hitherto promisit me followyng the misfortunes and feares alweill of lait as of a lang tyme bypast, the quhilke you do knaw. But for all that I will in no wyse accuse you, nouther of your litle remembrance nouther of your litle cair, and least of all of your promise broken, or of the coldnes of your writyng, since I am ellis so far maid yours, that that quhilk pleasis you is acceptable to me, & my thoghtes are so willyngly subduit vnto yours, that I suppois that all that commeth of you, procedis nat by any of the causis forelayd, but rather for sic as be iust and reasonable and sic as I desire my selfe. Quhilk is the finall order that you promisit to take, for the suretie and honorabill seruice of the onely vphold of my lyfe. For quhilk alone I will preserue the same, and without the quhilk I desire nat bot suddain daith. And to testifie vnto you quhow lawlie I submit me vnder your commaundementes, I haue send you in signe of homage by Paris the ornament of the hed quhilk is the chief guide of the vther members. Inferring thairby that by the saisyng of you in the possessioun of the spoile of that quhilk is principall the remnãt can-

A head.

not

not be bot subiect vnto you, and with consentyng of the hart. In place quhairof since I haue ellis left it vnto you, I send vnto you one sepulture of hard stone collourit with blake, sawin with teares and bones. The stone I compare to my hart that as it is caruit in one sure sepulture or harbor of your commandementes and aboue all of your name and memorie, that are thairin inclosit as is my hear in this ryng neuer to come forth, quhile death graunt vnto you to ane trophee of victorie of my bones as the ring is fullit, in signe that you haue maid ane full conquest of me, of myne hart, and vnto that my bones be left vnto you in remẽbrance of your victorie and my acceptable luif and willyng, for to be better bestowit then I merite. The amelyng that is about is blake, quhilk signifys the stedfastnes of hir that sendeth the same. The teares are without nvmber, so are the dreadoures to displeis you, the teares of your absence, the disdaine that I cã not be in outwart effect yours as I am without feintnes of hart and spryte, and of gude reason though my merites wer mekle greater then of the maist profite that euer was, and sic as I desire to be, and sall take payne in cõditions to imitate, for to be bestowit worthylie vnder your regiment. My onely wealth re-

The Queenis hear.

will compare you to ane sa vnhappy as he was, nor yit my selfe to ane sa vnpitiful a woman as sche. Howbeit ye caus me to be sumquhat like vnto hyr in any thing that touchis you, or that may preserue and keip you vnto hir, to quhome onely ye appertaine: if it be sa that I may appropriate that quhilk is wonne through faythfull yea onely luffing of you, as I do and sall do all the dayes of my lyfe, for payne or euill that can cume thairof. In recompense of the quhilk & of all the euils quhilk ye haue ben cause of to me, remember you vpō the place heir beside. I craue with that ye keepe promise to me the morne, but ẏ we may meit together, and that ye gene na fayth to suspitiouns without the certaintie of thaim. And I craue na vther thyng at God but that ye may know that thyng that is in my hart quhilke is yaurs, and that he may preserue you from all euill, at the least sa lang as I haue life, quhilk I repute not precious vnto me except in sa farre as it and I baith are agreabill vnto you, I am going to bed, and will bid you gude night. Aduertise me tymely in the morning how ye haue faren, for I will be in payne vnto I get word. Make gude watch if the burd eschaip out of the caige or without hir mate, as the turtur I shall remayne alone for to lament the absence how

schort

schort that soeuer it be. This letter will do with a gude hart, that thyng quhilk I can not do my selfe, if it be not that I haue feare that ye are in sleeping. I durst nat wrize this beſoir Ioseph, Bastian and Ioachim, that did but depart euin quhen I began to wrize.

¶ An other letter to Bothwell cõcernyng the departure of Margarete Carwood, quho was priuie and a helper of all thair loue.

MOn cœur helas! fault il que la follie d'vne femme, dont vous cognoissez assez l'ingratitude vers moy, soit cause de vous donner desplaisir. &c.

My hart, Alas, must the follie of a woman, quhose vnthankfulnes toward me you do sufficiently knaw, be occasioun of displeasure vnto you: conſideryng that I cauld nat haue remeddy thairunto without knawing it: And since that I perceauit it, I cauld nat tell it you, for that I knew nat how to gouerne my selfe thairin. For nouther in that, nor in any vther thyng, will I take vpon me to do any thyng without knawledge of your will. Quhilk I besech you let me vnderstand, for I will follow it all my lyfe, mair willyngly thẽ

you ſhall declare it to me. And if you do nat ſend me word this night what you will that I ſhall do, I will ridde my ſelf of it, and haſard to cauſe it to be enterpriſit and taken in hand, Quhilk might be hurtfull to that quhairunto both we do tend. And when ſhe ſhall be maried, I beſech you giue me one, or els I will take ſic as ſhall cõtent you for their conditions, but as for thair tounges or faithfulnes towart you, I will nat anſwere. I beſech you that an opinioun of vther perſoun, be nat hurtfull in your minde to my conſtancie. Miſtruſt me, but quhen I will put you out of doubt and clere my ſelfe. Refuſe it nat my dere life, & ſuffer me to make you ſome profe by my obedience, my faithfulnes, conſtancie & voluntarie ſubiectioun, quhilk I take for the pleaſanteſt gude that I might receaue, if you will accept it, and make no ceremony at it, for you could do me na greater outrage, nor giue mair mortall greefe.

¶ An other letter ſent from Stereline to Bothwell concernyng the practiſe for hir rauiſhment.

MOnſieur helas pourquoy eſt voſtre fiance miſe en perſõne ſi indigne, pour ſoupçonner ce qui eſt entierement voſtre. I'enrage, vous m'auiez promis. &c.

Alas

ALas, my Lord. why is your truſt put in a perſō ſo vnworthy, to miſtruſt that which is wholly yours? I am woodde. You had promiſit me that you would reſolue all, and that you would ſend me word euery day quhat I ſhould doe, you haue done nothing thairof. I aduertiſit you well to take heede of your falſe brother in law: he came to me, and without ſhewing me any thing frō you, told me that you had willit him to write to you that that I ſhould ſay, & quhaire and quhan you ſhould cum to me, and that that you ſhould do touchand hym, and thereuppon hath preachit vnto me that it was a fooliſhe enterpriſe, & that with mine honour I could neuer marry you, ſeing that being maryed you did tarry me away, & that his folkes would not ſuffer it, and that the Lordis would vnſay themſelfis, and would deny that thay had ſayd. To be ſhort, he is all contrary. I tolde hym, that ſeing I was cum ſo farre, if you did not withdraw your ſelfe of your ſelfe, that no perſwaſioun nor deith it ſelfe ſhould make me fayle of my promiſe. As touching the place you are to negligent (pardon me) to remit your ſelfe thereof vnto me. Thuſe it your ſelfe, and ſend me worde of it. And in the meane tyme I am ſicke, I wil differre, as touching the matter it is to late. It was not long of me that

you haue not thought therupō in tīme. And if you had not mair chaungit your mynde sīnce myne absence than I haue, you shonld not be now to aske such resoluing. Well there wanteth nothing of my part, and seing that your necligence doth put vs baith in the daunger of a false brother, if it succeede not well, I wyll neuer rise agayne. I send this bearer vnto you for I dare not trust your brother with these letters nor with the diligence. He shall tell you in quhat stait I am, and iudge you quhat amendment these new ceremonies haue brocht vnto me. I would I wer deid, for I see all goeth ill. You promisit vther manner of matter of your forseyng, but absence hath power ouer you, quho haue twa stringis to your bow. Dispatch the aunswere, that I fayle not, and put no trust in your brother for this enterprise, for he hath tolde it, and is also all against it. God geue you gude nicht.

An other wise.

¶ An vther letter to Bothwell for the practise and deuise to excuse the rauishyng.

DV lieu & de l'heure ie m'en rapporte à vostre frere & à vous, ie le suiuray & ne fauldray en rien de ma part. Il trouue beaucoup de difficultez, &c.

Of

OF the place and the time, I remitte my selfe to your brother and to you. I will folow him, and will fayle in na thing of my pairt. He findeth many difficulties: I thinke he doth aduertile you thereof: and quhat he desireth for the handling of him selfe. As for the handling of my selfe I heard it once well deuilit. He thinketh that your seruices, and the long amitie, hauing the gude wyll of the Lordes, do well deserue a pardon, if aboue the duetie of a Subiect you aduaunce your selfe, not to constrain me, but to assure your selfe of such place nigh vnto me, that vther admonitions or forraine persuasions may not let me from consenting to that that you hope your seruice shall make you one day to attayne: and to be schort, to make your selfe sure of the Lordes, and free to marry: and that you are constraynit for your surety, and to be abill to serue me faithfully, to vse an humble request, ioynit to an importune action. And to be short, excuse your selfe, and perswade them the most you cã, that you are constraynit to make pourstute againis your enemies. You shall say enough, if the matter or ground do like you, and many fayre wordes to Ledinton. If you like not the deede, send me worde, and leaue not the blaine of all vnto me.

¶An vther letter to Bothwell of the practiſe for hir rauiſhement and to aduiſe hym to be ſtrang to do it.

MOnſieur depuis ma lettre eſcrit voſtre beau frere qui fuſt, eſt venu à moy fort triſte, & m'a demandè mon conſeil de ce qu'il feroit apres demain. &c.

MY Lord, ſince my letter written, your brother in law that was, cam to me very ſad, and hath aſkeit me my counſaile, quhat he ſhould do after to morrow, becauſe there be many folkis here, and among vtheris the Erle of Southerland, quho wald rather dye, conſidering the gude they haif ſa lately receiuit of me, than ſuffer me to be caryit away, they conducting me: and that he feirit there ſhould ſum trouble happen of it: of the vther ſide that it ſhould be ſayd that he wer vnthankfull to haif betrayit me. I told him that he ſhold haif reſoluid with you vpon all that: & that he ſhould auoyde, if he could, thoſe that wer moſt miſtruſtit. He hath reſolued to write thereof to you by my opinioun: for he hath abaſchit me to ſee him ſa vnreſoluit at the neid. I aſſure my ſelfe, he will play the pairt of an honeſt man. But I haue thought good to aduertiſe you of the feare he hath that he ſhould

be

be chargeit and accusit of treson, to the ende that without mistrusting him, you may be the more circumspect, and that you may haif the more power. For we had yisterday more then iij. C. horse of his, and of Leniston. For the honour of God be accumpanyit rather wyth more then lesse: for that is the principal of my caire. I goe to write my dispatch, and pray God to send vs a happy enterview schortly. I write in hast to the ende you may be adwisit in time.

## ¶Of the Billes of proclamatioun and combat, set vp by Bothwell and the aunsweres.

Immediatly after the death of the kyng quho was murtherit and hys house blowen vp with gonnepoulder the ix. day of February in the night. 1567. Proclamatioun was made that quhosoeuer could bewray the murtherers of the king should haue two thousand pound. Unto the quhilk proclamatioun, reply was made and set vp priuely vpoun the tolbuith dore of Edenburgh the 16. of February in this maner.

Bycause proclamatioun is made that quhosoeuer will reueale the mur-

ther of the kyng shall haue two thousand pound, I quho haue made inquisitioun by them that were the doers therof, affirme that the committers of it were the Erle Bothwell, M. James Balfoure, the Persoun of Flisk, M. Dauy Chambers, Blacke M. John Spence quho quhas principall deuiser of the murther, and the quene assentyng thairto through the persuasioun of the Erle Bothwell, and the witchcraft of the Lady Bucklowgh.

If this be not true spere at Gilbert Bawfoord

Upon this, new proclamation was made the same day, desiryng the setter vp of the sayd Bill to come and auowe and subscribe the same, and he should haue the summe promisit in the first proclamatioun, and further accordyng to his abilitie, and sight of the quene, and hir counsell.

The aunswere thereunto was set vp in the place aforesayd, the morrow after, being the xix. of the same month.

FOrasmekle as proclamatioun hath bene made since the settyng vp of my first letter, desiryng me to subscribe, and auow the same, For aunswer, I desire the mony to be consig-

nit

nit into an euenly mans hand, and I shall compeere on Sonday nerte with iiij. some with me, and subscribe my first letter, and abide therat. And further I desire that Senior Frauncis, Bastian, and Joseph the quenes goldsmith be stayit, and I shall declaire quhat euery man did in particuler, with their complices.

To quhilk bill none aunswer was made.

The viij. day of Aprill the Erle Bothwell commyng to the Sessions at Edenburgh with anteseigne displaide & the stretes full of armed men of hys factioun, was arreynit for the murther of the kyng, and acquit of the same by a pariurde iury: quhairupon he set vp a challenge to fight hand to hand with any man (beyng no person diffamed) that wald auow the matter. Hereunto aunswere was made by an vther Bill set vp in the same place anone after. That for asmickle as the sayd Erle Bothwell had set vp a writyng subscribed with his awne hand, quhairby he dyd chalenge any man (nat diffamed) that would or durst say

he was giltie of the kyings death, and therwithal did giue the ly in his throte to him that wald auouch the quarelle a gentleman & a man of gude fame did by those presentes accept the offer and offers, and wald proue by the law of armes that he was the chefe author of that foule and horrible murther, albeit an inquest for feare of death had slyghtly quyte hym. And bycause the kyng of Fraunce and the quene of England had by thair Ambassadours desired that tryall and punishement might be had for the same, he maist hartily thairfoir craued of thair Maiesties, that thay wald desire of the quene hys souereine, that by hir consent thay might appoynt the day and place within their dominions for the triall therof accordyng to the law of armes, in thair presences or in thair deputies. Quhilk day & place he promised by the faith of a gentlemã to appeare at, and to do his deuoyre, prouided alwayes that thair Maiesties by open proclamatioun shall giue assurance to hym and to hys companie, to passe and repasse through thair countryes, without hurt or impediment.

Quhat

Quhat iuſt cauſe he had to deſire the kyng of Fraunce and the quene of England to be iudges in the caſe, he remitted to the iugement of the readers and the hearers, warnyng by thoſe preſentes the reſt of the murtherers to prepare them ſelues, for thay ſhould haue the lyke offer made vnto them, and thair names giuen in wrytyng that thay might be knawin to all men.

## ¶The confeſſioun of Iohn Habroun, Young Talla, Dagleiſh and Pourie, vpon quhom was Iuſtice executed the 3. of Ianuarie, the yeare of God. 1567

IOhn of Bowton confeſſit that nyne was at the deid doing, my L. Bothwell, the Lord of Oxnifloun, Hob Oxnifloun, himſelf, Talla, Dagleiſh, Wilſon, Pourie, and French Paris, and that he ſaw na moe, nor knew of na vther companies.

Item, he knowis nat vther but that that he was blowin in the ayre, for he was handillit with na mens handes as he ſaw, and if he was it was with vthers and not with tham.

Item, as touching Sir Iames Balfour, he ſaw not his ſubſcriptioun, but

I warrand you he was the principall counsallar and deuiser.

Item, he sayd, I confesse it is the veray providence of God that hes brought me to his iudgement, for I am led to it as an horse to the stall, for I had schippis provdit to flie but coulde not escape.

Item he sayd, let no man do euill for counsell of great men, or thair maysters, thinking thay shall saue tham, for surely I thought that night that the deid was done, that although knowledge should bene gotten, na man durst haue sayde it was euill done, seing the hand writtis and acknowledging the Quenis minde thairto.

Item speaking of the Quene in the Tolbuith he sayd, God make all weill, but the langer deirt is hydden it is the stronger. Quho lives, our daithes will thought na newis.

Item, himnest he confessit, he was ane of the principall doers of the daith, and thairfoir is iustly worthy of daith, but he was assurit of the mercy of God, quho callit him to repentance.

ITem Talla confessit *vt supra*, agreing in all pointes as concerning the parsons, number, and blowing in the ayre.

Item, he affirmit that in Scroun my Lord Bothwell callit on him and sayd,

quhat

quhat thought you quhen thou saw him blowen in the ayre. Quho answerit, alas my Lord quhy speake ye that, for quhē euer I heare sic a thing, the words wound me to death, as thay ought to do you.

Item, that same tyme he saw Syr James Balfour put in his owne name and his brothers vnto my Lord Bothwelles remissioun.

Item he knew of the deid doing three or foure dayes or it was done or therby.

Item he sayd, after that I came to the court I left the reading of Gods worde and imbrasit vanitie, and thairfoir hes God iustly brought this on me.

Quhairfoir let all men flee euill cumpany, and to trust not in mē, for redy are we to imbrace euil as redy as hardes to receaue fyre. And further in the Tolbuith he requirit Iohn Brande minister of the congregation to passe to my Lord Lind say, & say, my Lord hartily I forgeue your L. and als my Lord Regent and all vthers, but specially thaim that betrayit me to you, for I know if ye could haue sauit me ye would, desiring you as ye will answere before God in the latter day to do your diligence to bring the rest quho was the beginners of this worke to iustice, as ye haue done to me, for ye know it was not begunne in my head, but yit prayses God that his

iustice hes begunne at me, by the quhilk he hes callit me to repentaunce.

ITem Dagliſhe ſayd, as God ſhall be my iudge I knew nothing of the kinges death befoir it was done, for my Lord Bothwell gangand to his bedde after the taking of of his hoſe, quhilke was ſtockit with veluet, Frenth Paris cum and roundit with him, & thairefter he taryed on me for vther hoſe and claithis, & his riding cloke and ſwoorde, quhilke I gaue him, & hereafter cum vp the gait to the Lord of Dunſtouns lodging & taryit for him, and thereafter that he paſſit to ane wynd beſide the blacke Fryers, and cum to the ſlope of the dike quhaire he gart me ſtand ſtill, and as God ſhalbe my iudge I knew nathing quhill I heard the blaſt of powder, and after this he cum hame, lay downe in his beid, quhill M. George Hakit cum and knockit at the dooze, and if I dye for this, the quhilke God iudge me gif I knew maire, quhat ſhalbe done to tham quho was the deuiſers, counſallars, ſubſcriuers, and fortifiers of it?

(::)

Now iudge Engliſchmen if it be gud to change Quenis.

O vnityng confounding.

Quhen rude Scotlād hes vomited vp ane poiſoun, muſt fine England lick it vp for a reſtoratiue?

O vile indignitie.

Quhile your Quenis enemy liueth, hir dangir cōtinueth. Deſperate neceſsitie wyll dare the vttermoſt.

O cruell mercie.

O ambitioun fed with proſperitie, ſtrēgthned with indulgence, irritated with aduerſitie, not to be neglected, truſted, nor pardouned.

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